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Fall 2012

# Political space: an opportunity within the Lima food system

Santiago A. Dammert  
*Syracuse University*

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# **Political space: an opportunity within the Lima food system**

**Santiago A. Dammert**  
**Fall 2012**

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# Contention

**“I propose a more complex project composed of hybrid programs that reflect a deeper analysis of the site and its relations to the city and its food system, as well as programmatic interfaces that result in interactions between the different users to be located there, without compromising the market’s need for efficient transactions. An other important factor is time. Since market activities tend to take place at different times than more generic office hours within which most people work, it is important to design program with time slots in mind, generating not only spatial interfaces but chronographic interfaces”**



# Abstract

The market of La Parada was until recently the largest wholesale vegetable market in the city of Lima, Peru. Five thousand people used to work there, and it supplied 70% of Lima's food, including more than 350 retail markets, as well as supermarkets, restaurants and homes<sup>1</sup>. Evicted on October 27th, 2012 after being mired in conflict for the past 2 years, the market is an ideal testing ground for the research of the complex relations that happen between the food system and politics, and the potential they offer to be developed into a space for policy making with regards to food. The violent riots previous to the final eviction of the merchants of La Parada showcase the need of a spatial interface between consumers and merchants, since they have clearly differing agendas. APEGA, the Peruvian Society of Gastronomy, appears as a potential client for a project in tune with their ideals of food safety and sustainability in opposition to the merchants' disorganized treatment of food, as well as the social inclusion of traditionally ignored workers within the food system, such as Andean producers. APEGA's directive council, however, is made up of famous chefs, anthropologists, academics and food publishers, but no farmers or food merchants. It thus appears to be made up of a one-sided leadership even if its activities do include several traditionally disenfranchised members of the food system, such as during its annual food festival, Mistura. The annual event, considered the largest of its kind in Latin America, aims to promote contact between chefs, traditional cooks, producers and the general public to highlight Peruvian products and food culture.

APEGA, however, have not pronounced themselves publicly with regards to the recent conflict between the municipality and the merchants, and the latter are not included in Mistura. This appears to respond both to a smart political calculation, considering any association with the merchants would tarnish their reputation, as well as an almost indecent disconnect from a vital component of the city's food system, which APEGA claims to be deeply involved with. The evicted merchants of La Parada are in dire need of a space to work, since a large number have been left out from the new wholesale market at Santa Anita and are being rejected from other markets across the capital. Like most terminal markets, the new market is composed of conventional free-standing structures and other program that are designed to be physically and spatially separated from each other for efficiency. **I propose a more complex project composed of hybrid programs that reflect a deeper analysis of the site and its relations to the city and its food system,**

**as well as programmatic interfaces that result in interactions between the different users to be located there, without compromising the market's need for efficient transactions. An other important factor is time. Since market activities tend to take place at different times than more generic office hours within which most people work, it is important to design program with time slots in mind, generating not only spatial interfaces but chronographic interfaces.**

Upon inspection of the system and the recent conflict, I propose to include the Municipal governments of Lima and La Victoria, on behalf of the people, APEGA on behalf of sustainable food policy and the Merchants as clients. The project intends to provide programs specific to each one's needs and expectations, but allowing for programmatic intersections within the building that foster a direct relationship between the clients, the site and the city, turning characteristically transient (and invisible) spaces with little inter-user interaction into a richer environment.

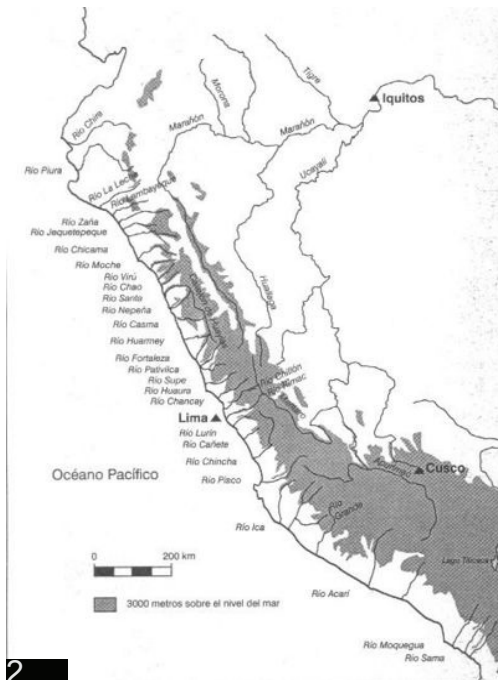
The programmatic additions to be made include a public park required by civilians who lack it, an extension of the existing market program for permanent use by the merchants and office, event and research program for APEGA to work as an institution devoted to food policy and consumer representation. Mistura, organized annually and drawing crowds of over half a million people in its last edition, appears as a temporary activity that occupies and synthesises the different programs within the building, spatially uniting its different components even further.



# Lima, Peru



# Climate

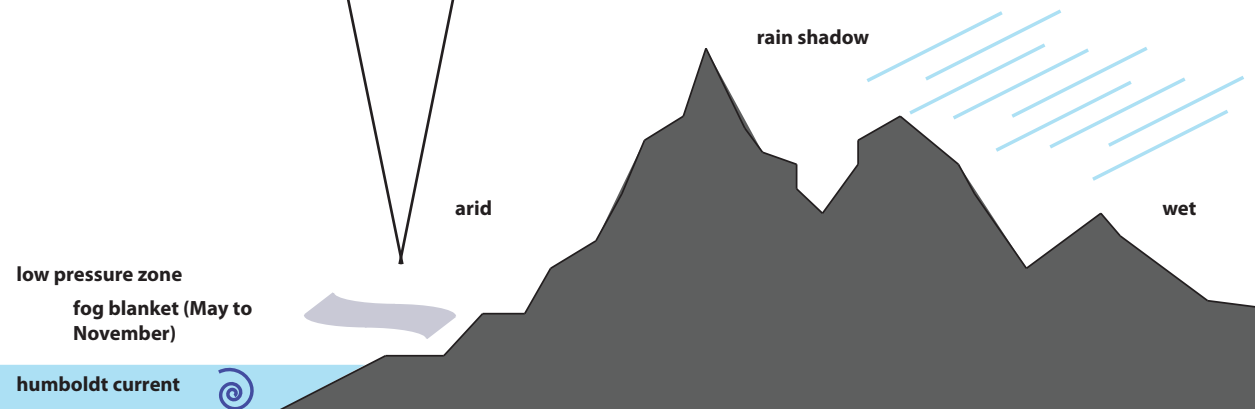


Peru is divided into 3 main climatic regions: the coastal desert, the Andes and the Amazon Jungle. These, in turn, consist of 8 different “ecological floors” based on altitudinal characteristics that condition climate, as described by naturalist Javier Pulgar Vidal. According to Holdridge’s life zone definition, 84 out of 117 existing life zones can be found within Peruvian territory, more than any other nation in the world. This results in a very biodiverse country, where a wide range of agricultural products can grow. The western coast of the country is mostly desertic, due to the Andes mountains that act as a rain shadow, blocking rain-bearing winds from the east. The cold Humboldt sea current also contributes to aridity, since it cools the air which in turn loses its ability to hold moisture. The eastern Andes, in contrast, are much more humid, and they descend into the thick tropical Amazon jungle that makes up over a third of the country.

The Peruvian Coastal Desert is not necessarily hot, however, with the average temperature being 24C in the central area around Lima. Precipitation is under 30mm per year, making it exceptionally arid. Some plant life subsists due to a persistent fog (*garúa*) which lasts from May to November. The territory is fertile nevertheless, due to the 53 rivers originating in the Andes that flow westwards into the Pacific. This results in a coastal desertic strip interrupted by 53 valleys where agriculture has been practiced since Precolumbian times. Irrigation techniques and canals have increased arable land, thus making the Peruvian coastal valleys a densely cultivated and inhabited area, holding over 60% of the country’s population. An increasingly important export-oriented agricultural industry has arisen in the past 20 years. As a result, a series of large irrigation projects have been undertaken in recent years. The Andes, on the other hand, are also very fertile, and even though the terrain makes access to markets more difficult, it is where most of the produce consumed in Lima comes from.



The Pan-American Highway running across the desert, irrigation based agriculture and fog dependent vegetation in Lomas de Lachay (north of Lima)



# Agriculture in the Lima Metro Area

Lima originated next to the River Rímac (center). As of today, the city has grown to include not only this valley, but also that of the Chillón river to the north and the Lurín river to the south. Agricultural land within city borders has gone from 31,594 hectares in 1972 to 14,736 in 1997. This is due primarily to an accelerated rate of urbanisation and farmland's subsequent transformation into other uses. Most of it used to belong to a few very large landowners, but after the Agrarian Reform Law of 1969, under which mass expropriations were undertaken, the current situation involves mainly smallholders. Most of these cultivate small amounts, usually for subsistence or a small income. Current urbanization trends suggest that urban expansion is localized primarily on former agricultural land, as opposed to taking over barren or unused land.

Public interest projects, such as the expansion of Jorge Chávez International Airport in Callao, are scheduled to take over agricultural land such as El Ayllu, where some 500 families still farm, albeit in extreme poverty and poor sanitary conditions.

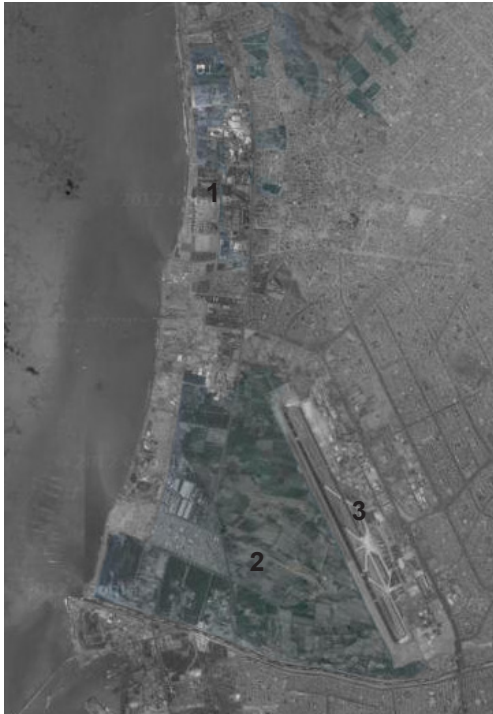
Other green spaces are located near the urban threshold, such as the Pantanos de Villa Natural Reserve towards the south or the Ventanilla wetlands in the north. However, these areas are not suitable for farming or urbanisation, as they are located on marshy land.



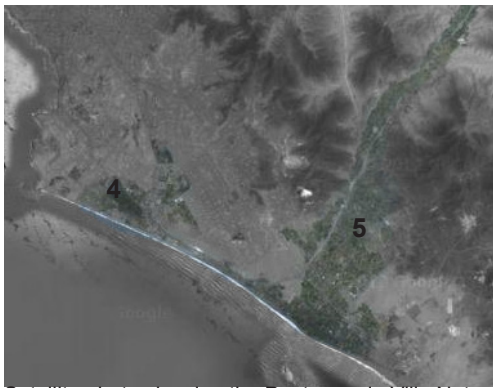
6. Recently urbanized land in the former Fundo Oquendo plantation (1)



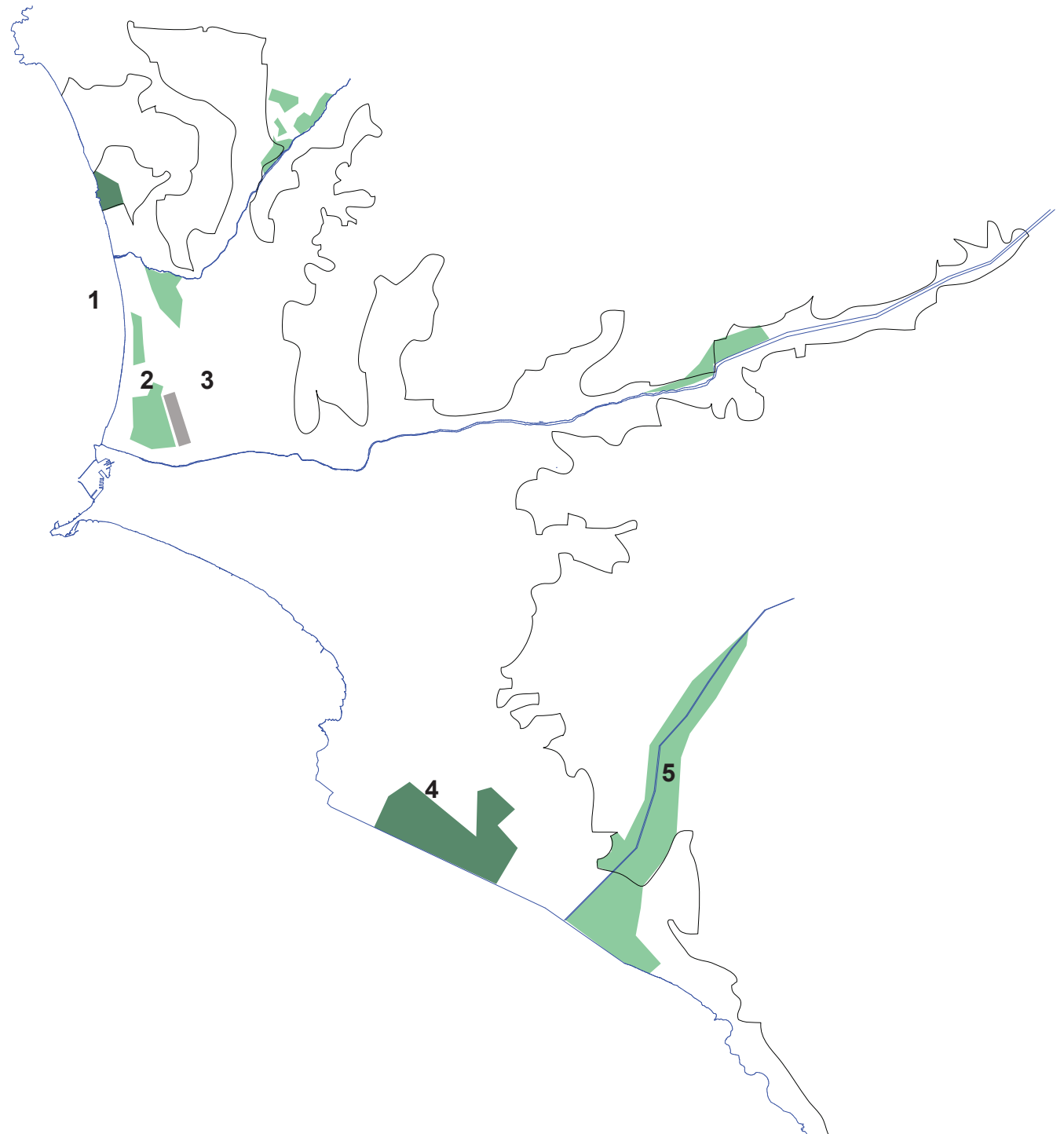
7. Land being urbanized in Pachacámac, Lurín Valley (5)



Satellite photo showing both El Ayllu (2) and the adjacent Jorge Chávez International Airport (3), as well as the former Fundo Oquendo (1)

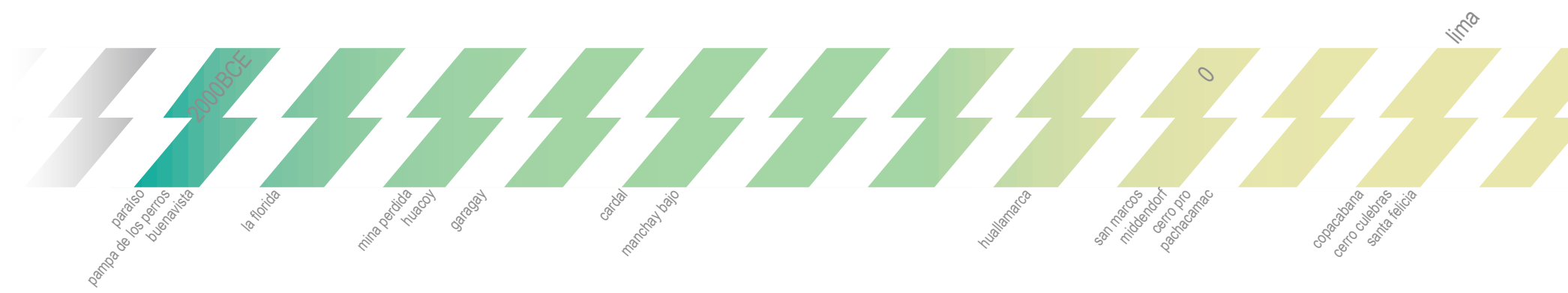
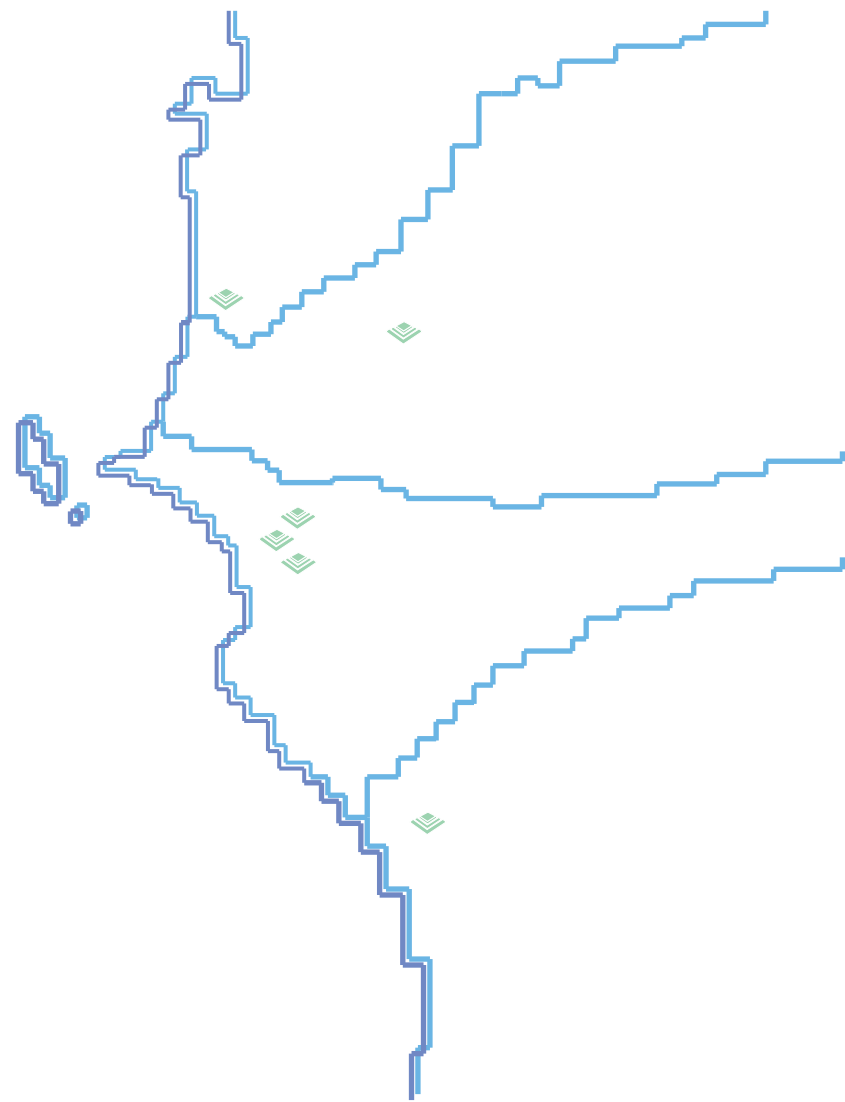
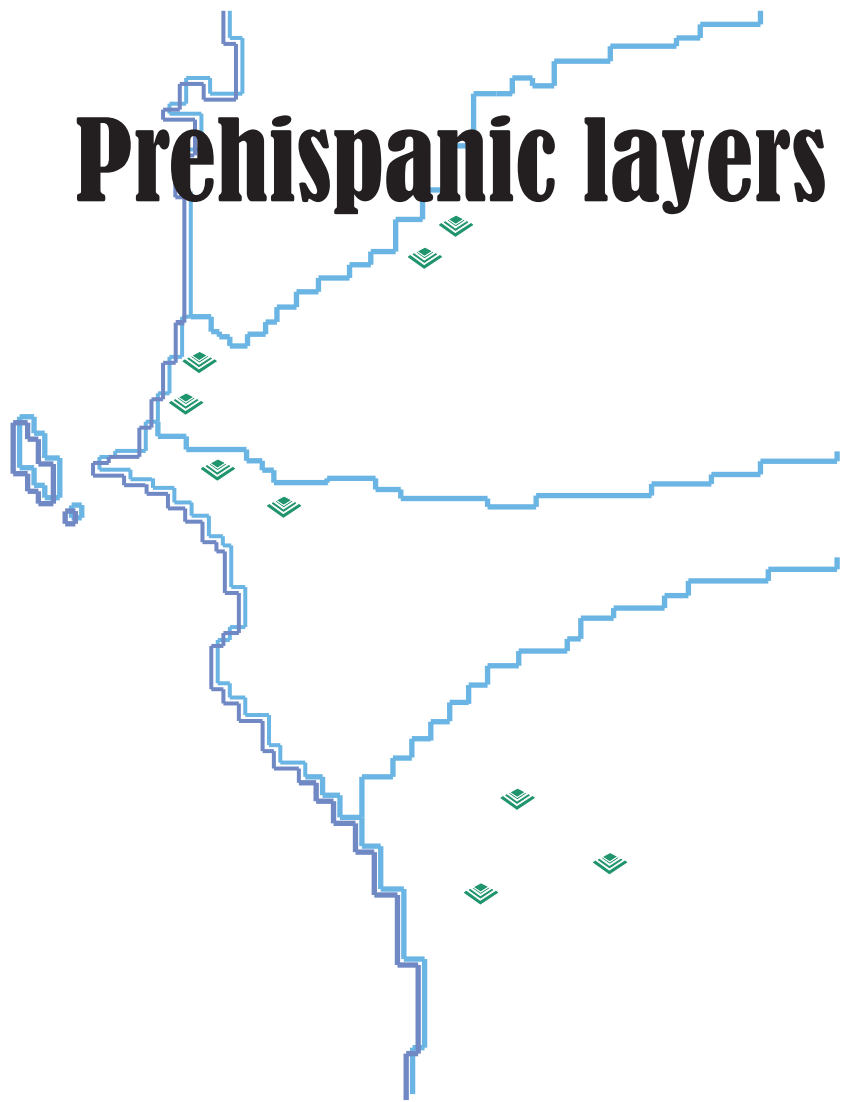


Satellite photo showing the Pantanos de Villa Natural Reserve (4) and the Lurín River Valley (5).

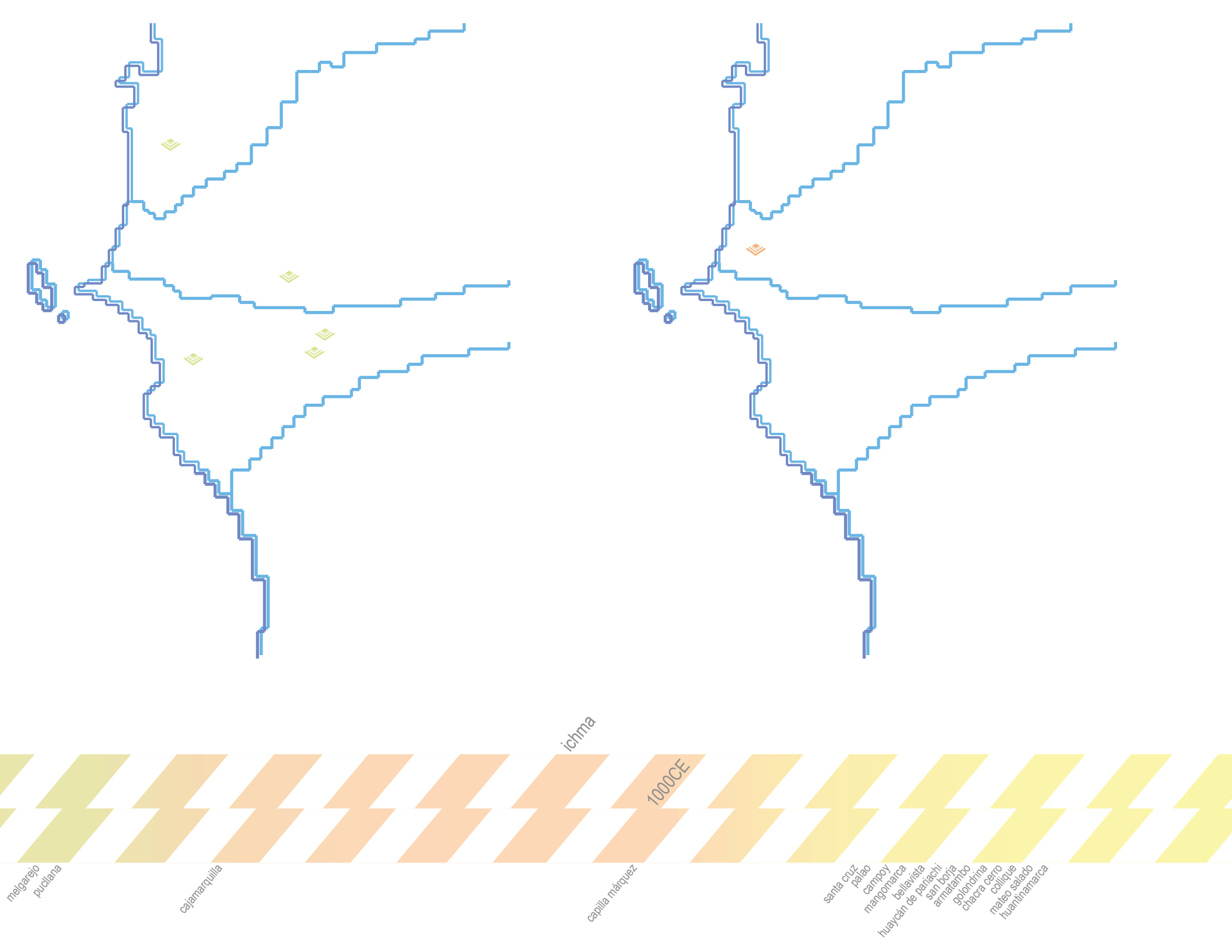


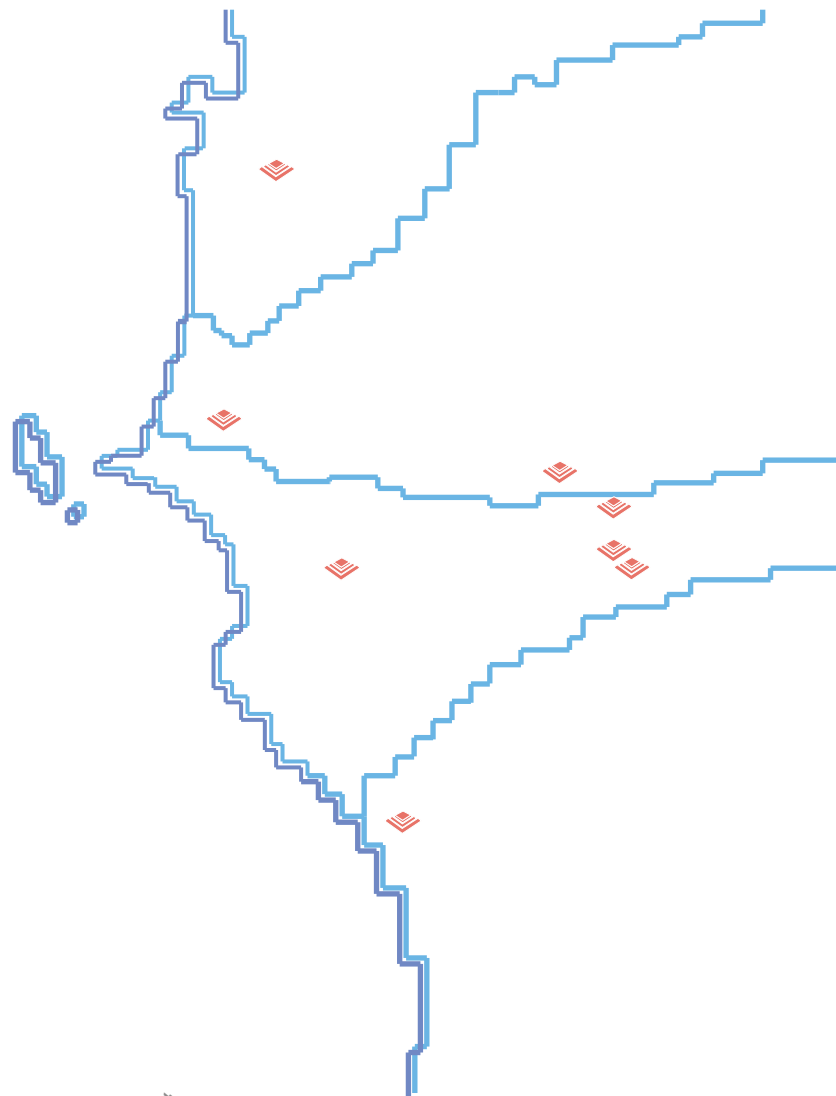
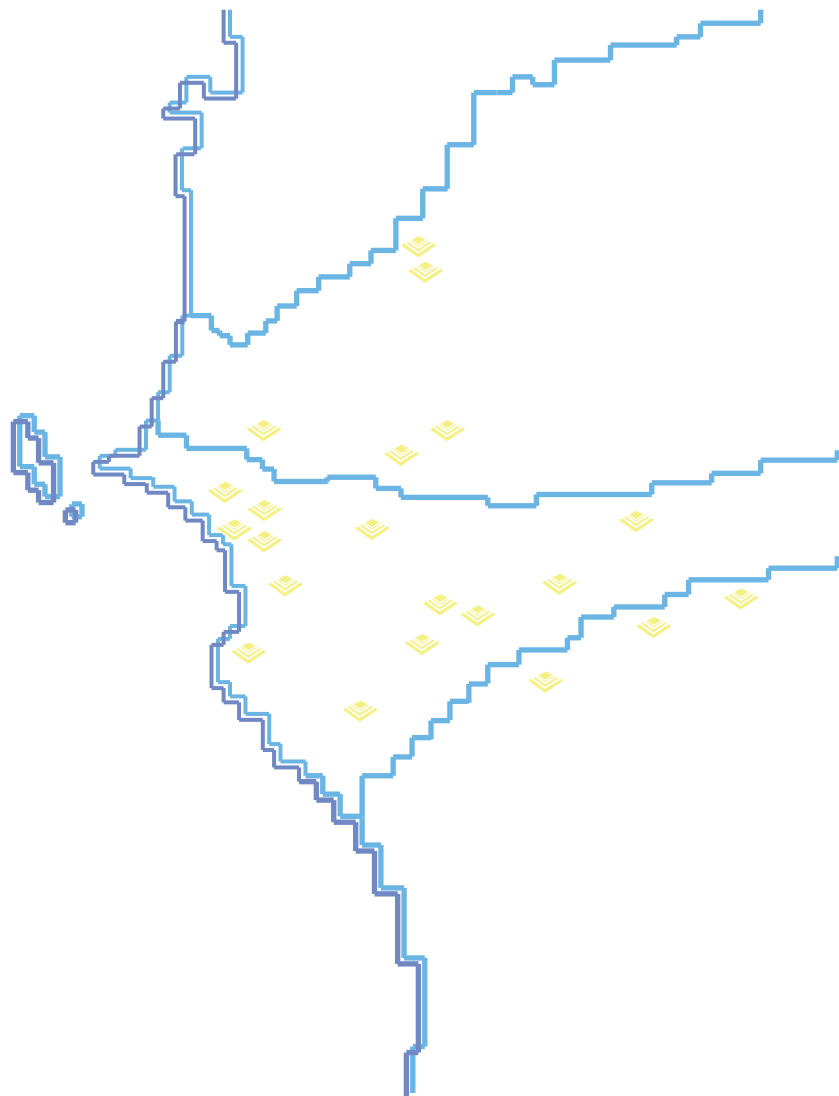
Agricultural areas   
 Natural wetlands

# Prehispanic layers









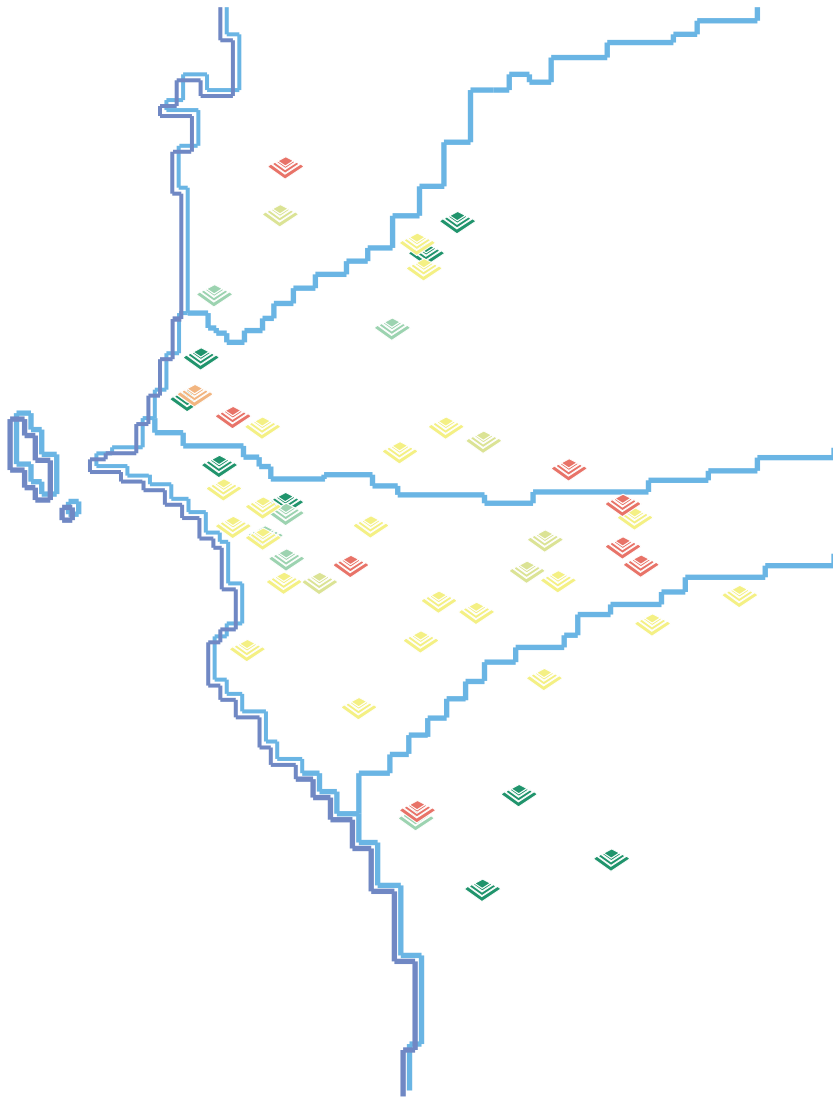
panteón chino  
 pirucha  
 la merced  
 balconcillo  
 santa catalina  
 tijailes  
 chontay

san juan de parachi  
 huaycán de cineguilla  
 tambo inca  
 palacio orquendo  
 la muralla  
 pirucha  
 huaquerones  
 san antonio  
 pachacamac

inca

1500CE

spanish conquest



Layering is a recurring condition in Precolumbian sites. *Huacas* or sacred sites were usually taken over by subsequent cultures. The site of Pachacámac, for example, was continuously occupied for over 1,400 years. It was first built by the Lima culture between 200 and 600 CE, subsequently occupied by the Wari, Ichma and finally Inca cultures. A lot of the temples and huacas in the area were adapted to new uses by the conquering culture, with some of the rituals of the conquered people incorporated. Ritual sites like Pucallana and Pachacámac continued to be considered sacred after the different occupations and alterations it suffered. This reutilization of site and program, albeit with adaptations, showcases a certain respect and interest in past iterations produced in the site, and a value given to the networks or systems previously developed there, be it for political, religious or architectonic reasons.

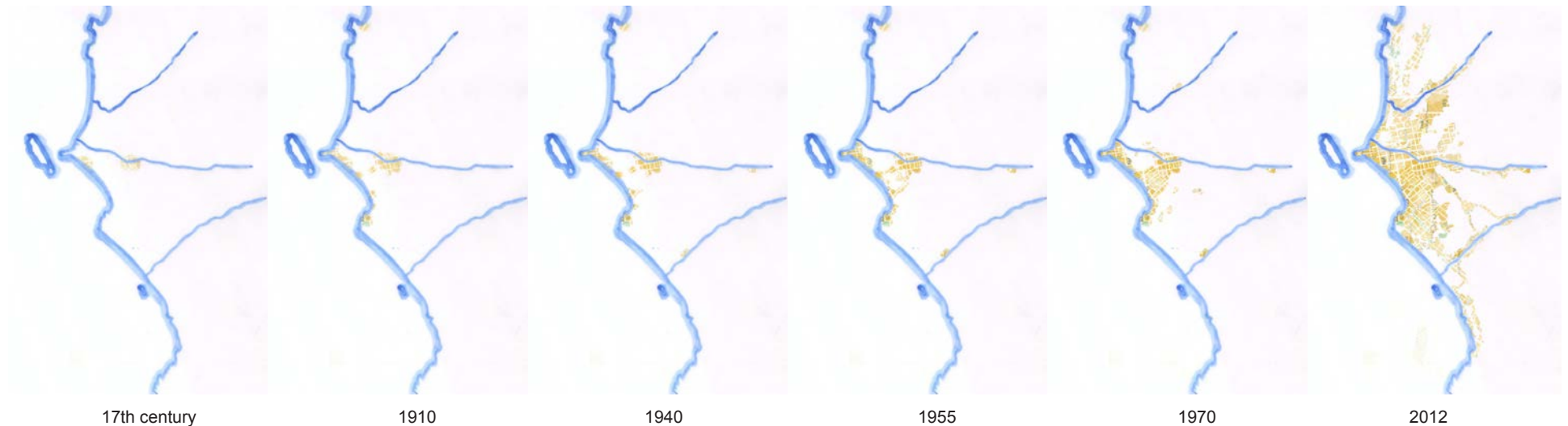


8. Adobe brick layering in Huaca Pucallana, Miraflores, Lima

# From walled city to urban explosion

The city of Lima was founded by Francisco Pizarro on January 18th, 1532, as the capital of the Spanish empire in South America. Called the City of the Kings for the holiday of the epiphany, the city was first organized as a grid, in what would become the standard urbanistic practice for Spanish colonial cities in the Americas. The city grew parallel to Callao, the port a few miles away on the coast. Around the beginning of the 18th century Lima had grown to become a walled city of 40,000. This was followed by a period of stagnation, as Lima went from “being the most important city in South America” to losing importance to those cities on the Atlantic seaboard better connected with Europe, such as Buenos Aires. By the time of independence in 1821, Lima had around 60,000 inhabitants. The guano boom of the 1870's and the demolition of the city walls encouraged the first real growth boom the city experienced, encroaching on the nearby farmland to the south.

The population at this time was around 120,000, growing to around 280,000 in the 1930s, 655,172 in 1940 and 1,985,410 inhabitants in 1960. At this time migration from other parts of Peru increased dramatically, with shanty towns forming in the periphery of the city. the former outlying satellite towns of Miraflores, San Isidro, Magdalena, Barranco and Chorrillos were completely engulfed by the growing city. The 1970s saw it increase to over 3 million people, reaching the current population of 8,445,211.





Central Lima, showing the former walled city south of the River Rímac and the 19th century expansions further south



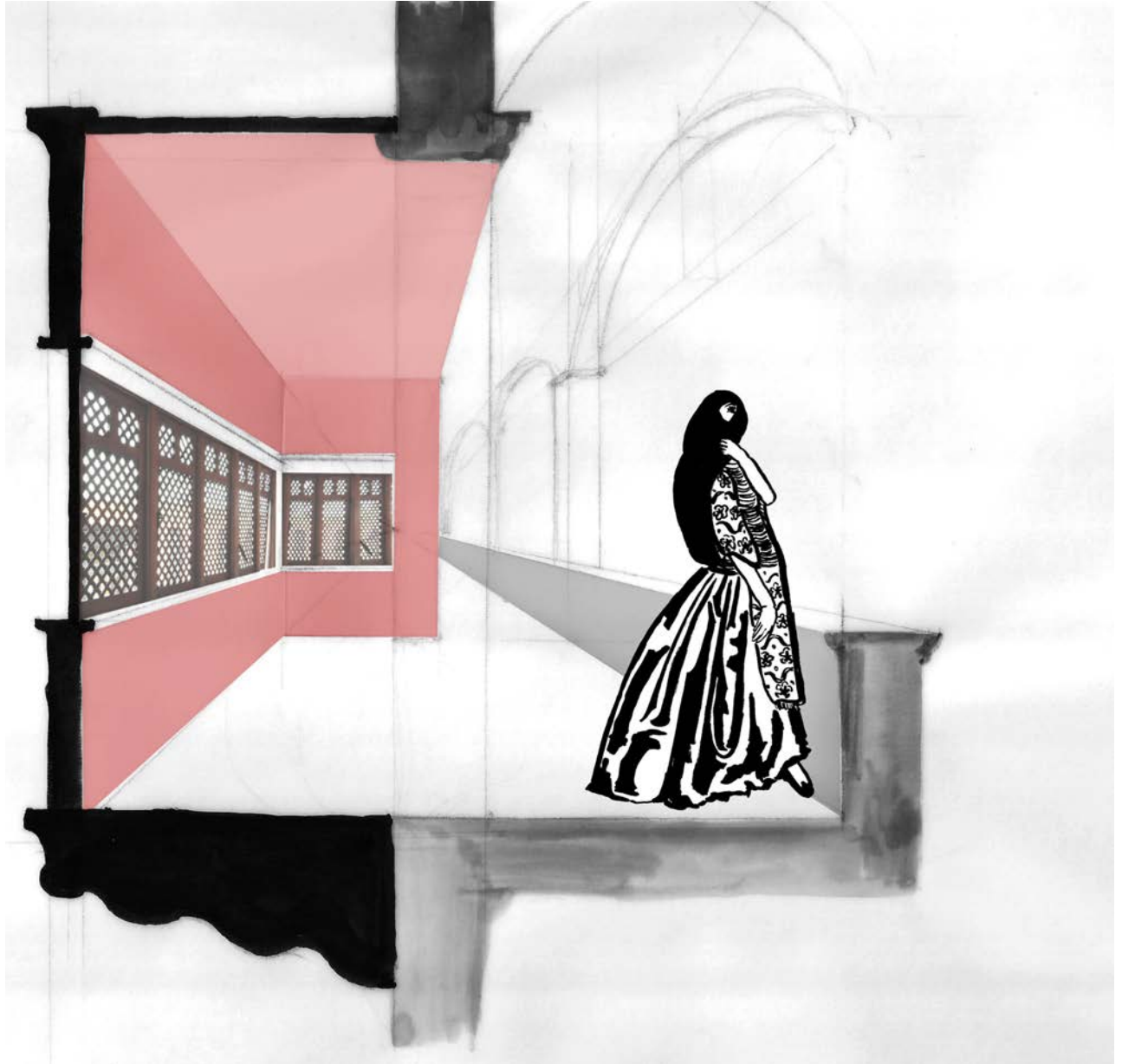
Pamplona Alta, an informal settlement or pueblo joven formed in the 1990s after mass migration from the Andes. These settlements extend for miles upward into hills on the periphery of Lima.



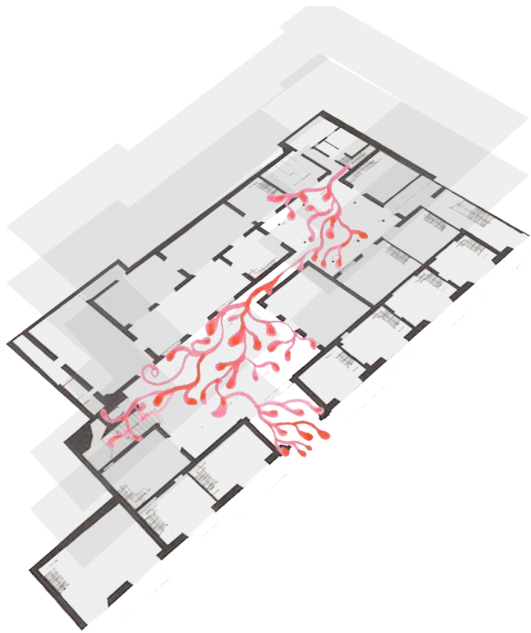
# The colonial house

Housing (understood as upper class Spanish settler housing development) started out as a one-story building organized around a courtyard. The private area of the house was separated from the street by a row of commercial space, entry being through a gated hallway connected to the courtyard, not unlike European palazzi. An orchard was usually located behind the built portion of the house, providing inhabitants with fresh food. An already established Pre-hispanic canal network enabled Spanish settlers to easily adapt to the well irrigated Rímac Valley, and to divert it towards their contemporary use. Smaller canals, called *acequias*, used to run behind the houses, providing water.

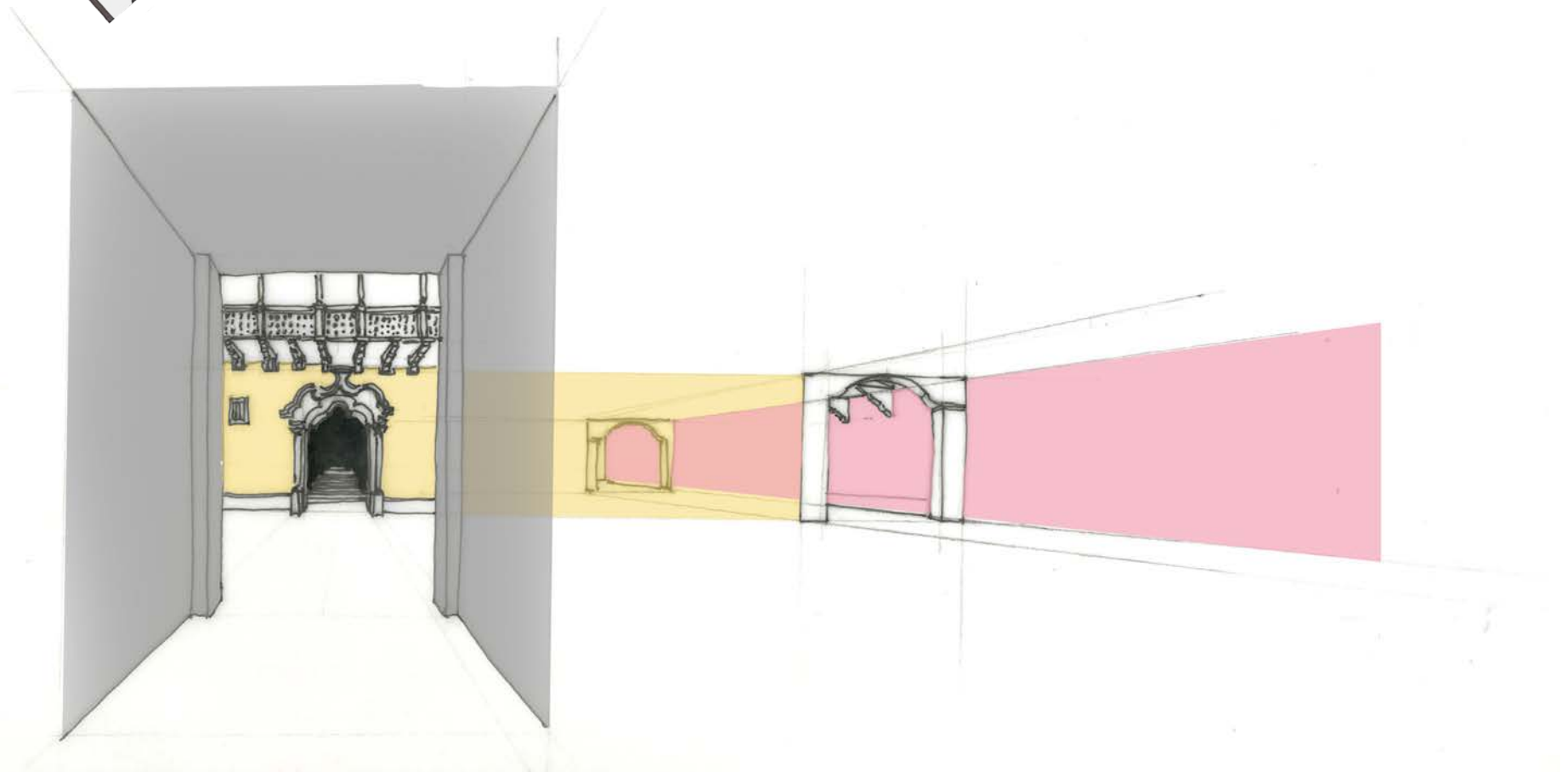
In time this seminal house typology evolved into the more consolidated double courtyard house, which increasingly consisted of 2 or even 3 stories. This typology includes off-axis circulation between the courtyards, with the central axis still aligning the entry with the street and the first and second courtyards, effectively yet in a very controlled manner connecting the exterior spaces within the house to the street. Despite this sequential connection, colonial houses tended to be inward looking with relatively unadorned façades (with some exceptions).



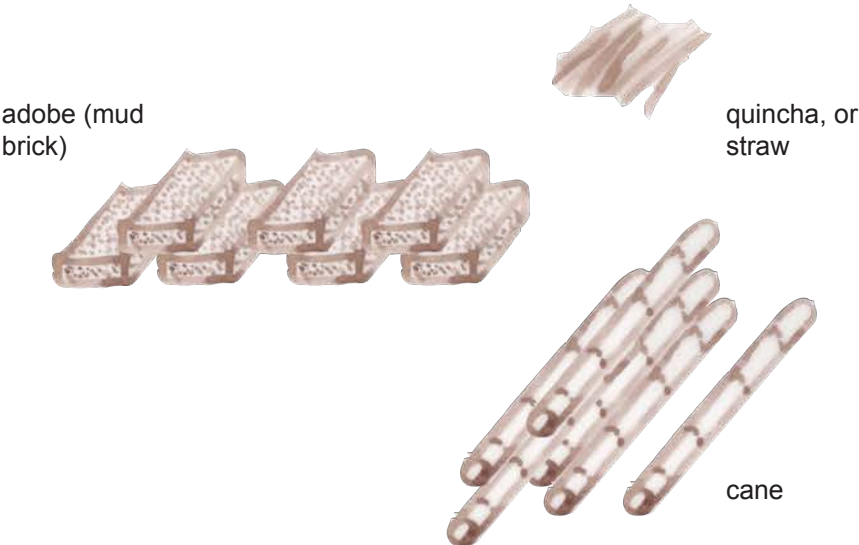
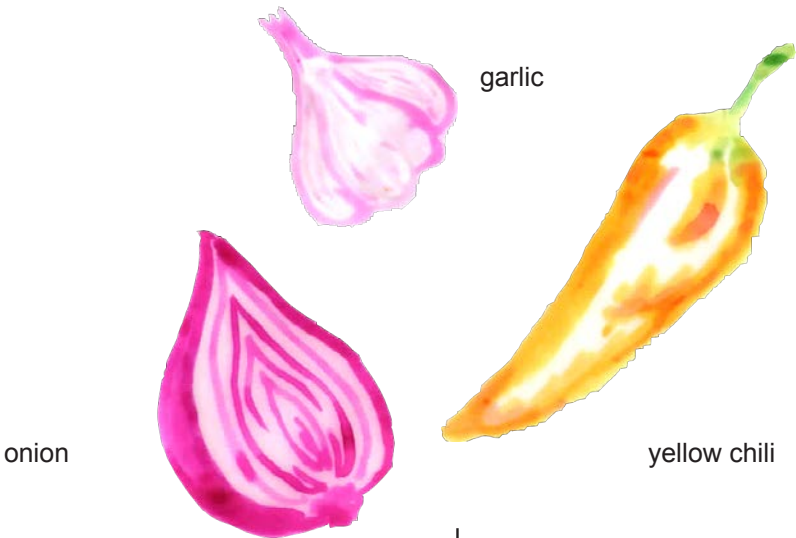




Formally speaking, houses were mostly organized orthogonally, adapting to the strict urban grid implanted by the colonial authorities and to the plots of land given to each family. Apart from the two courtyards, one can observe two lateral wings of program that mark the boundaries of the house towards its neighbors. The rooms between both courtyards tended to be the most important social program, such as the main salon. The slaves' quarters and service program were located towards the back, where the orchard would have been in the first iteration of the colonial house.



# Materiality



# APEGA & Mistura



# APEGA

APEGA (Asociación Peruana de Gastronomía) or the Peruvian Association of Gastronomy is a non governmental organization founded in 2007 by a range of individuals involved with the gastronomy industry. According to its official website, they are composed by “gastromones, nutritionists, oenologues, journalists, cooks, researchers, restaurant owners and cooking schools”.

## Mission:

- To promote Peruvian cuisine as a source of national identity and a factor of economic development, progress and wellbeing of all Peruvians.
- Promote excellence in food sources and safeguard Peru's biodiversity.
- Incentivate the formation of new generations of professionals engaged with our vision and values.
- Reassign value to the role of the small-scale agricultural producer in the gastronomic chain and the input of regional cooks, traditional restaurants and street food vendors.

APEGA's activities are mainly focused on organizing food festivals around the country, with the annual Mistura fair being its most important one. It also organizes fora for academics and chefs, such as the “Heirs of Peruvian Cuisine” yearly student forum in Arequipa. It is also involved in the “Lima, Gastronomic Capital of the Americas” campaign. Its involvement with high-profile political cases such as Monsanto's attempt to commercialize GMO seeds in the country, in which it was against, have made APEGA an increasingly politically active organization (it was instrumental in pushing for the law banning GMOs from the country for the next ten years). It has also signed institutional treaties with several ministries, and it belongs to political pressure groups such as CONVEAGRO, an agricultural union umbrella organization. APEGA's figurehead, international chef and restaurant empire owner Gastón Acurio, is a quasi-divine figure amongst some of his followers. He is asked by the media to comment on a variety of events (even outside of his area of expertise) from writing competitions to the latest law being passed in Congress. He has also been publicly asked to run for the presidency on numerous occasions.

Despite their goals, the directive of APEGA is conformed by mostly top-down professionals (there are no decision-making producers, for instance).



2. Gastón Acurio and former president Alan García in Mistura 2010. Acurio had a public row with president García in May 2011 over GMOs, when he made a reference to the president's "colossally elevated ego".



3. Prize-winners in Mistura. The presentation in the back reads "APEGA is inclusion, quality..."



## APEGA - Board of Directors



Bernardo Roca-Rey  
President & Journalist



Mariano Valderrama  
Academic



Gastón Acurio  
Chef



Pedro Miguel Schiaffino  
Chef



Patricia Dalmau  
Academic & Head of Le Cordon  
Bleu Peru



Ana Maria Arrarte  
Journalist



Johan Leuridan  
Academic



Héctor Solís  
Chef



Isabel Álvarez  
Academic



Adolfo Perret  
Chef

# Mistura

Mistura is the annual food festival organized by APEGA. After its first edition in 2008, it has become the largest gastronomic festival in Latin America, with over 500,000 attendants over its 11 days in September 2012. It brings together world-famous chefs such as Michelin-starred Ferrán Adrià and Massimo Bottura, Peruvian culinary figures such as Gastón Acurio and local restaurants with sustainable farmers from the Andes, street food vendors and traditional food craftspeople. Hailed by APEGA as a place where “peasants, cooks, students, chefs, housewives and foodies come together without differences or privileges” it is designed as a showcase of Peruvian culinary culture. Despite its democratic intentions, there is still an entry ticket to be bought at S/.20 (7.6 US\$ at current rate), which reserves access to middle and upper class customers. However, it is the one of the only events of its kind that promotes interaction between the different social and economic levels of the gastronomic chain, emphasizing the importance of farmers and producers as guardians of Peruvian biodiversity and the integrity of the food system. It also acts as a showcase for endangered or underrepresented culinary traditions from different parts of the country, putting them in front of an increasingly global audience (250 foreign journalists from 15 countries were present at the fair).

**11** days  
**506,531** attendants  
**14,328** foreign visitors  
**S/.20** adult ticket cost (S/. 15 presale)  
**S/.12** cost of average sampler plate

Past locations:

2008: Cuartel San Martín former barracks

2009, 2010, 2011: Parque de la Exposición

2012: Campo de Marte

2013: APEGA in search of a 25 hectare site

Parque de la Exposición

80,000 sq. meters

8 hectares

Campo de Marte

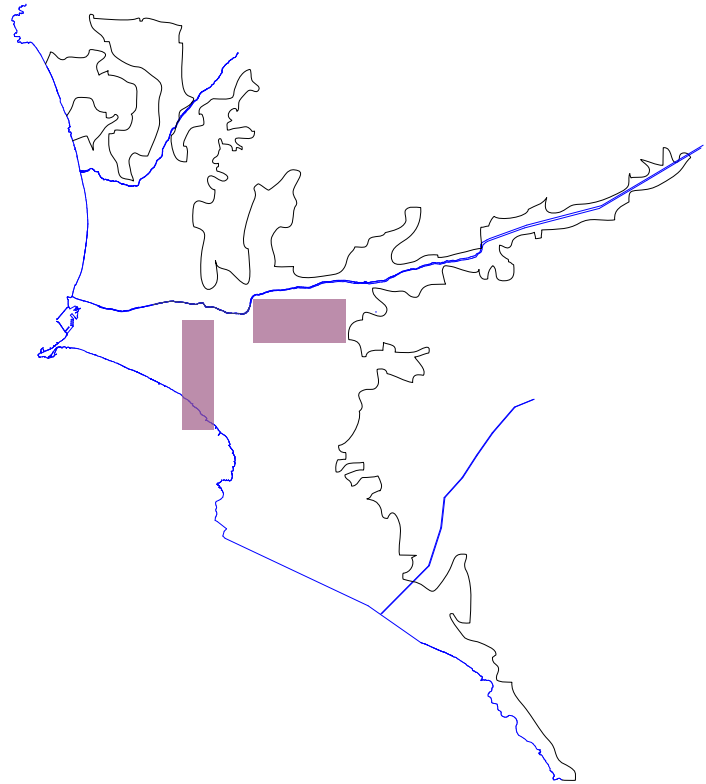
150,000 sq. meters

15 hectares

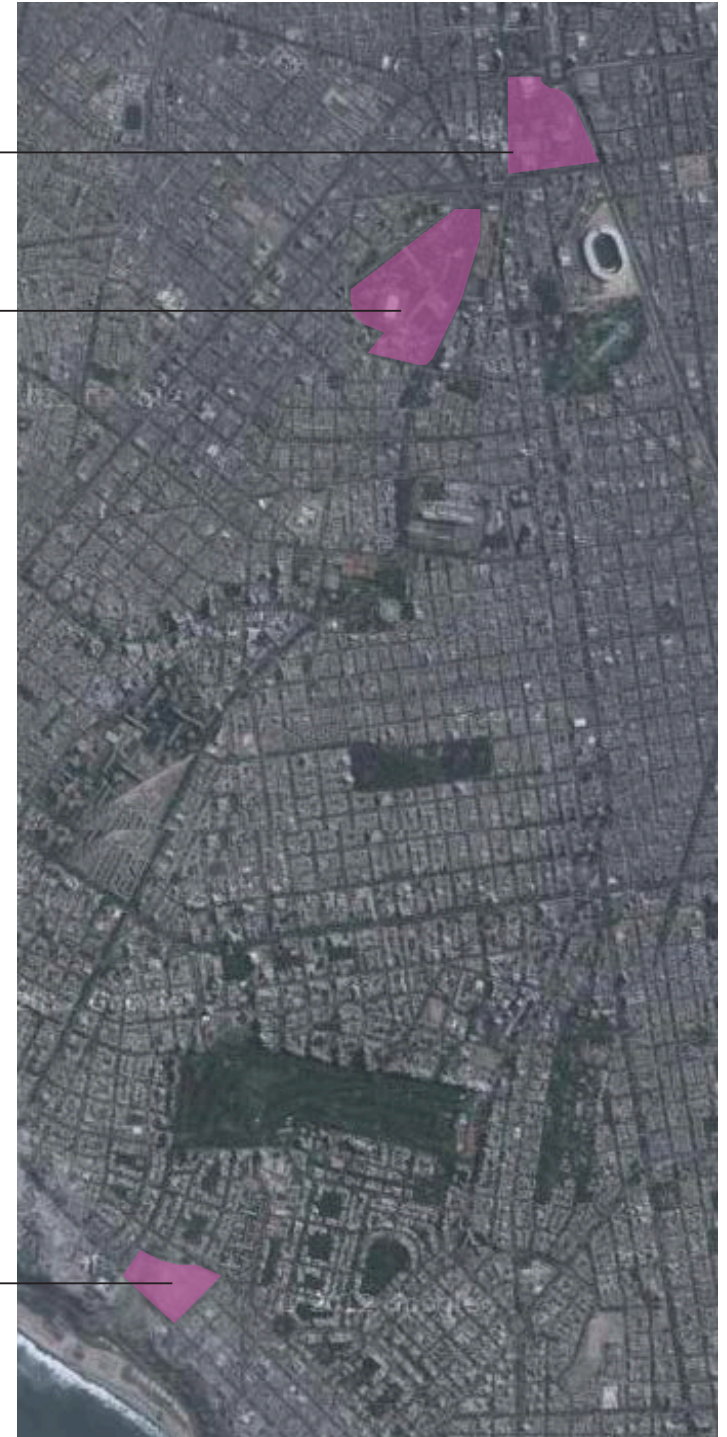
Cuartel San Martín

68,000 sq. meters

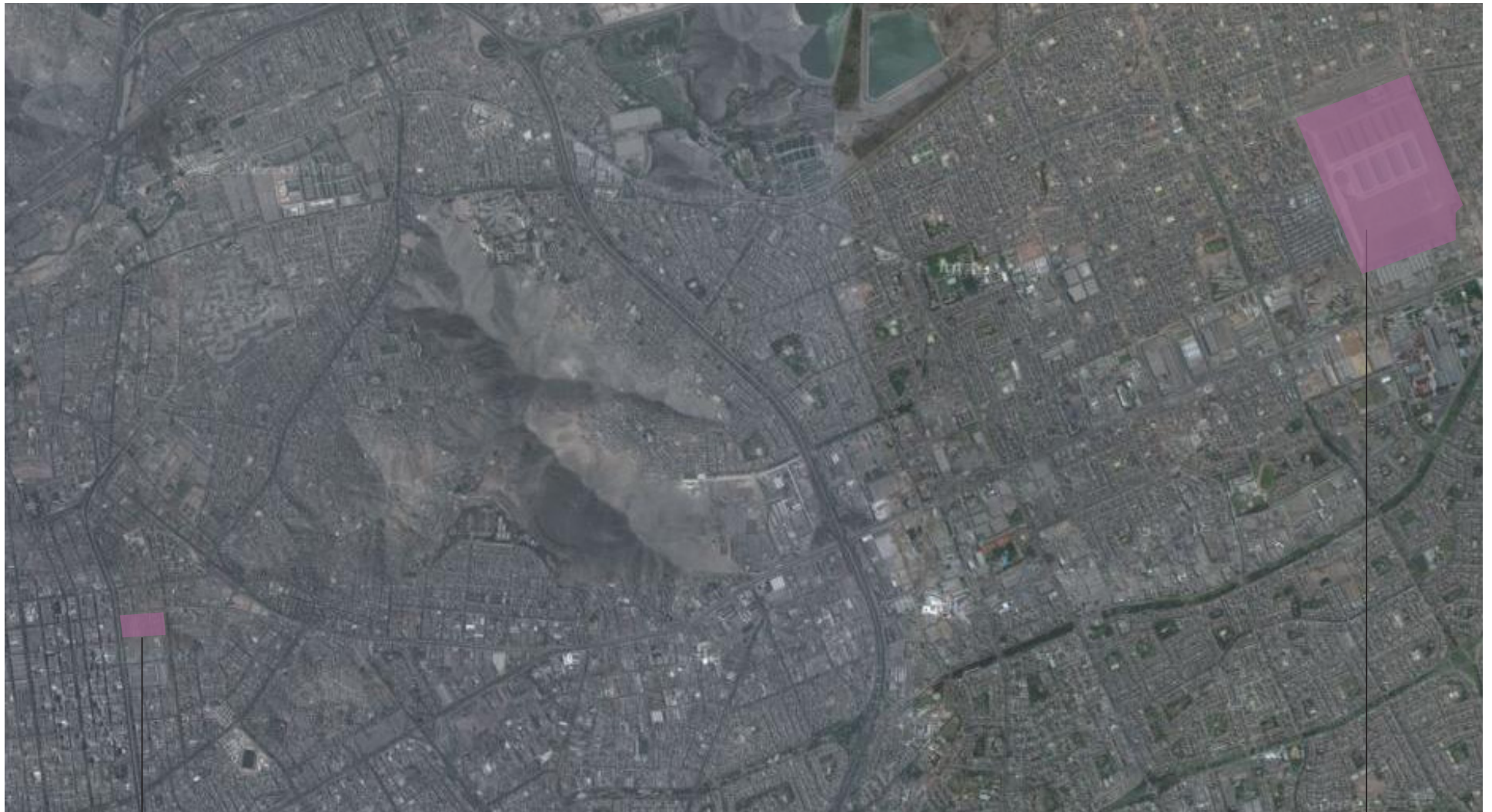
6 hectares, 8,000 meters



The choice of the Campo de Marte park as a venue for Mistura was highly controversial, as neighbors opposed to the initial proposal of tree relocation and building of some concrete structures (APEGA claimed the park would be given back to the city in its original form or better). Even the glorified Mistura was not totally free from conflict.





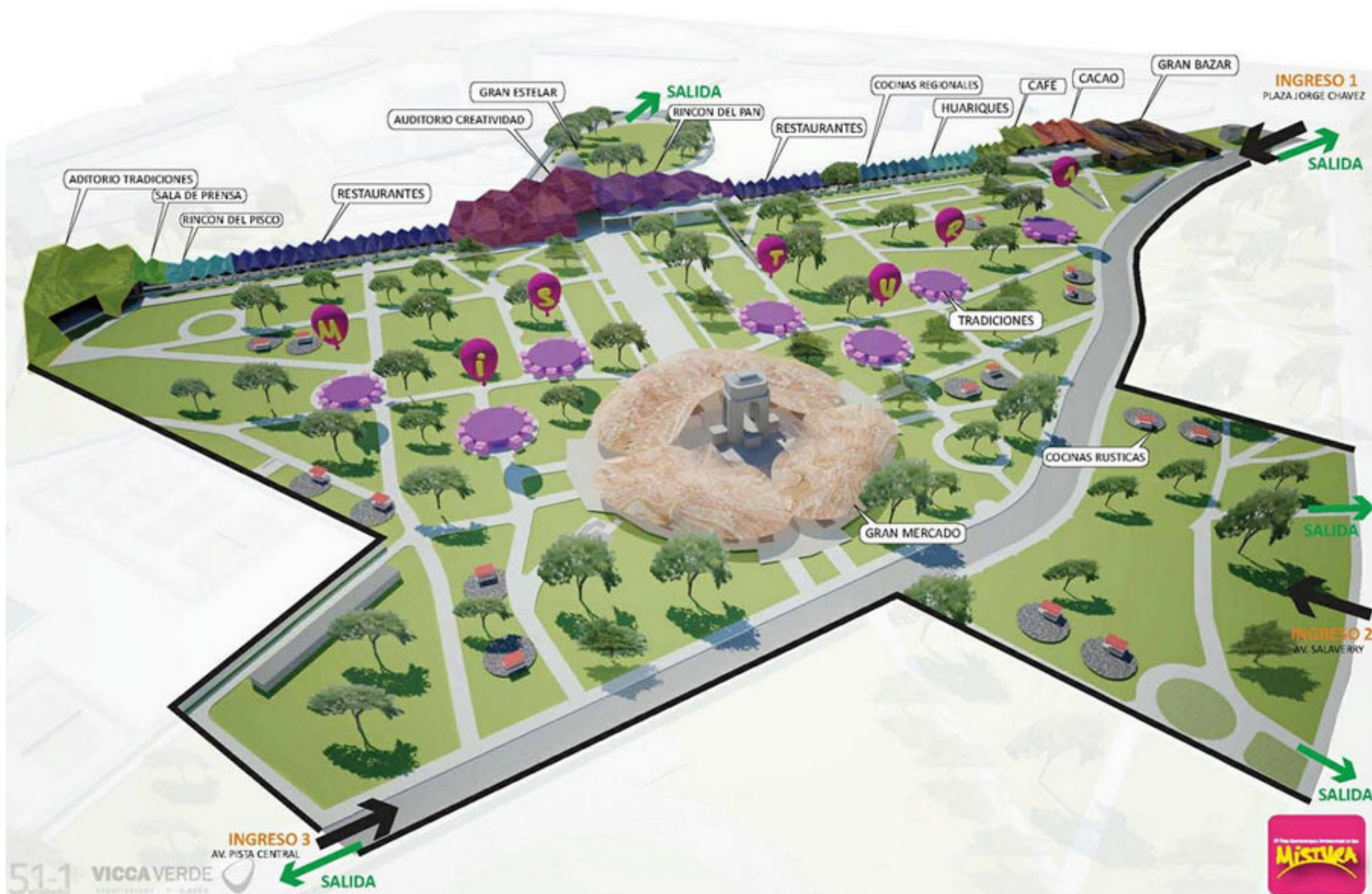


La Parada  
30,000 sq. meters  
3 hectares

Santa Anita  
600,000 sq meters  
60 hectares

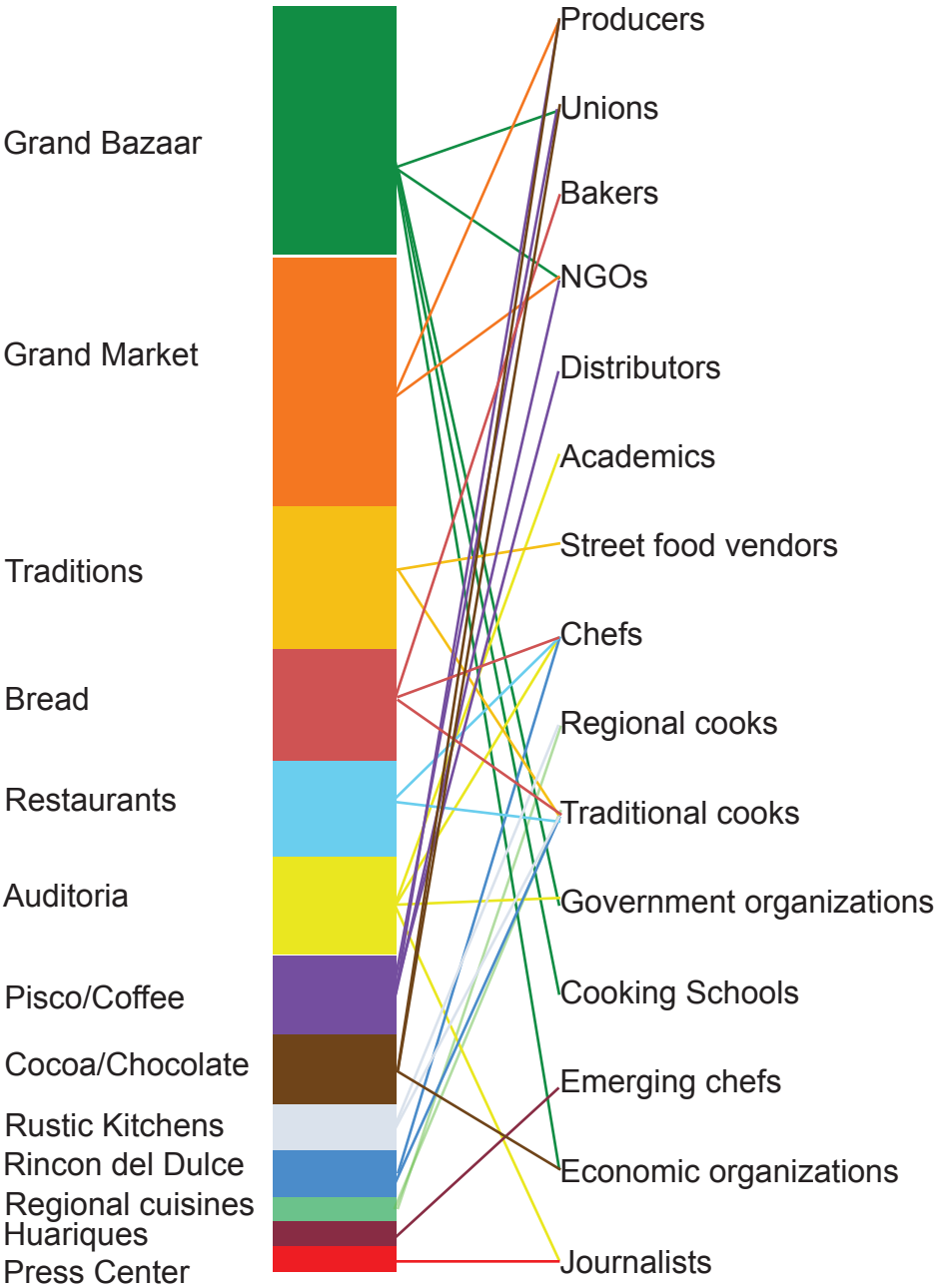
Compared to the site until recently occupied by La Parada, Mistura's needs seem to big for the site. Nevertheless, there seems to be a very horizontal idea persistent in the organization that does not take into account vertical spaces that might be suitable for the fair.



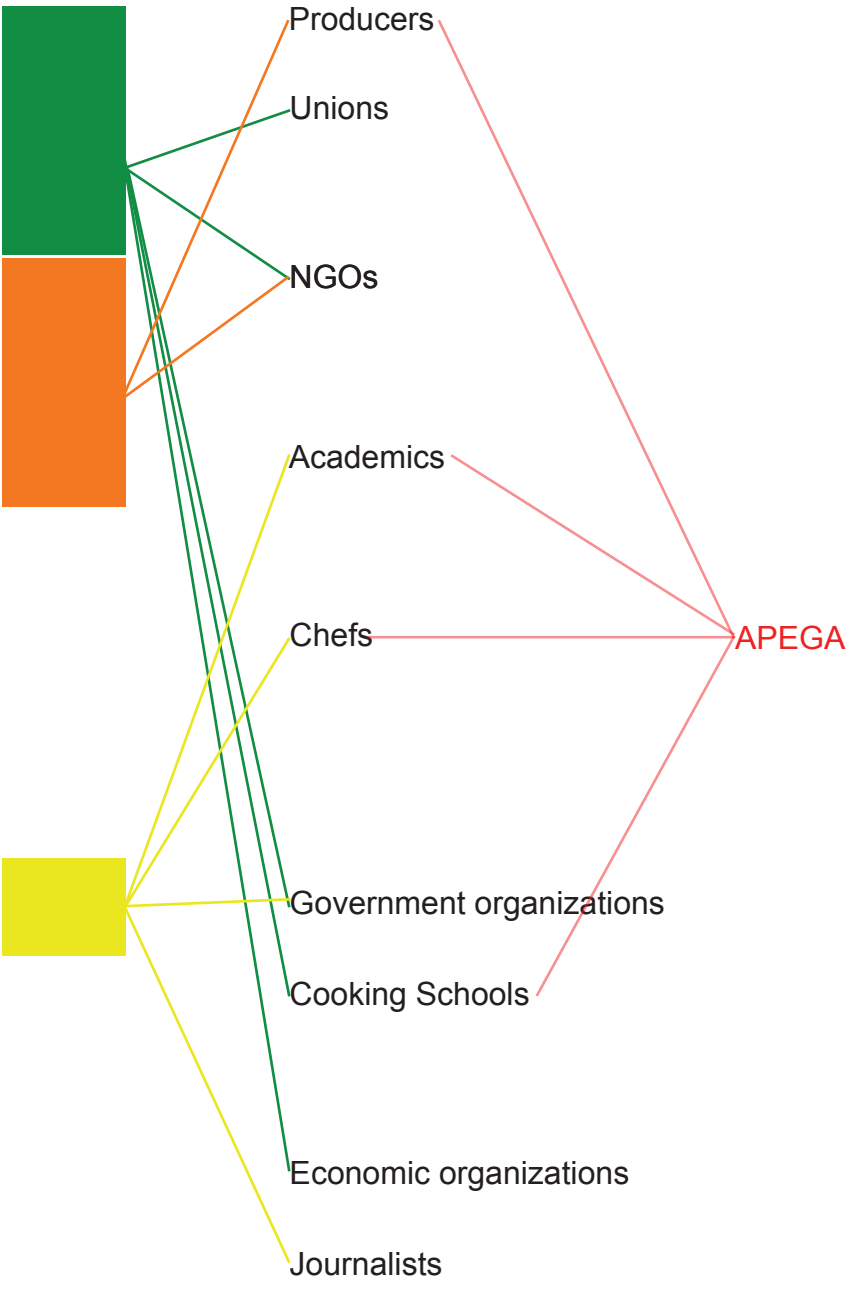


4. During the last edition, the Campo de Marte park was divided into 10 sections: the Grand Bazaar, the Grand Market (Gran Mercado), the Chocolate and Cocoa Corner (Rincón del Chocolate y del Cacao), The Sweet Corner (Rincón del Dulce), The Bread Corner (Rincón del Pan), Rustic Kitchens (Cocinas Rústicas), Traditions (Tradiciones), Pisco and Coffee Hall (Salón del Pisco y el Café), Restaurants, Regional Cuisines (Cocinas Regionales) and *Huariques* or Hole-in-the-wall restaurants. The APEGA Auditorium hosted talks by 27 guests including street vendors revealing culinary secrets, local celebrity chefs and international stars such as Joan Roca, Paco Torreblanca, Massimo Bottura and Aurora Mazzuchelli.

# Program and players



# Program and players - filtered



**...but where are the merchants?**



Wholesale and retail market sellers, 'the merchants', are not included in Mistura, even though they are a vital part of the food system - they mediate in the relationship between the producer and the consumer.





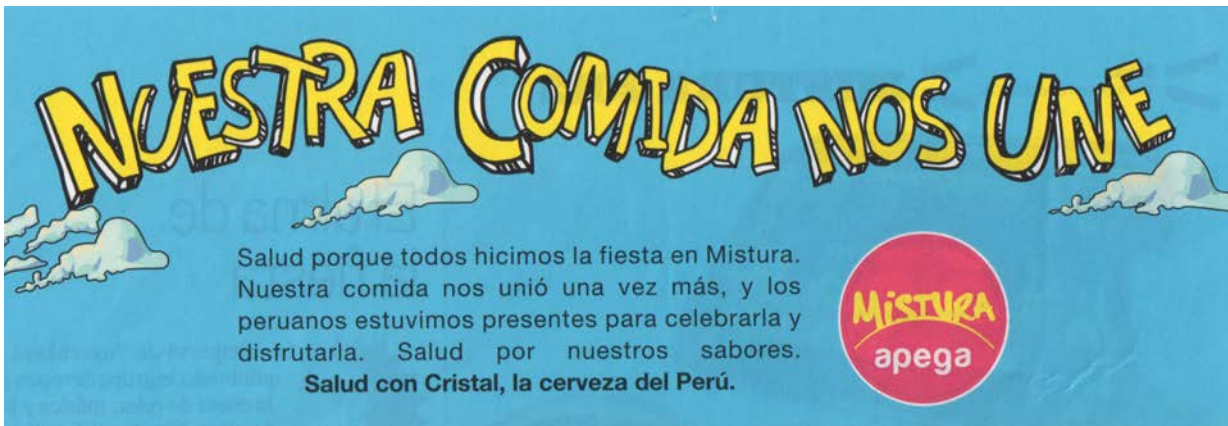
5. Crowds in the Grand Market



6. Products on show at the Grand Market



7. "La Patarashca" Amazonian restaurant cook holding fresh fish and jungle chillies



8. "Our food unites us" - A local beer brand advertisement on SOMOS Magazine, September 15th



9. Seating provided for festival goers

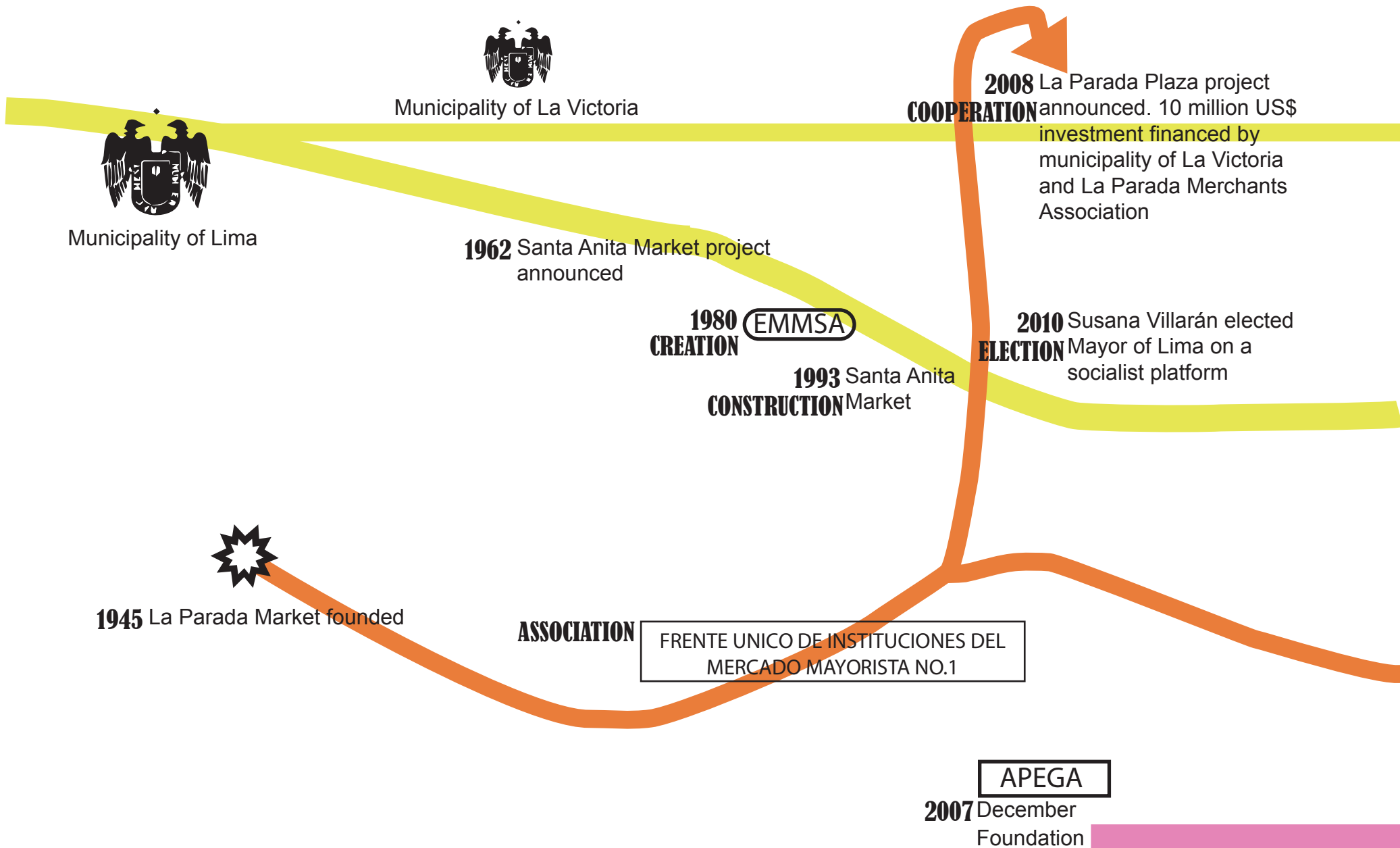


10. Women farmers from the Andes taking part in Mistura 2012.

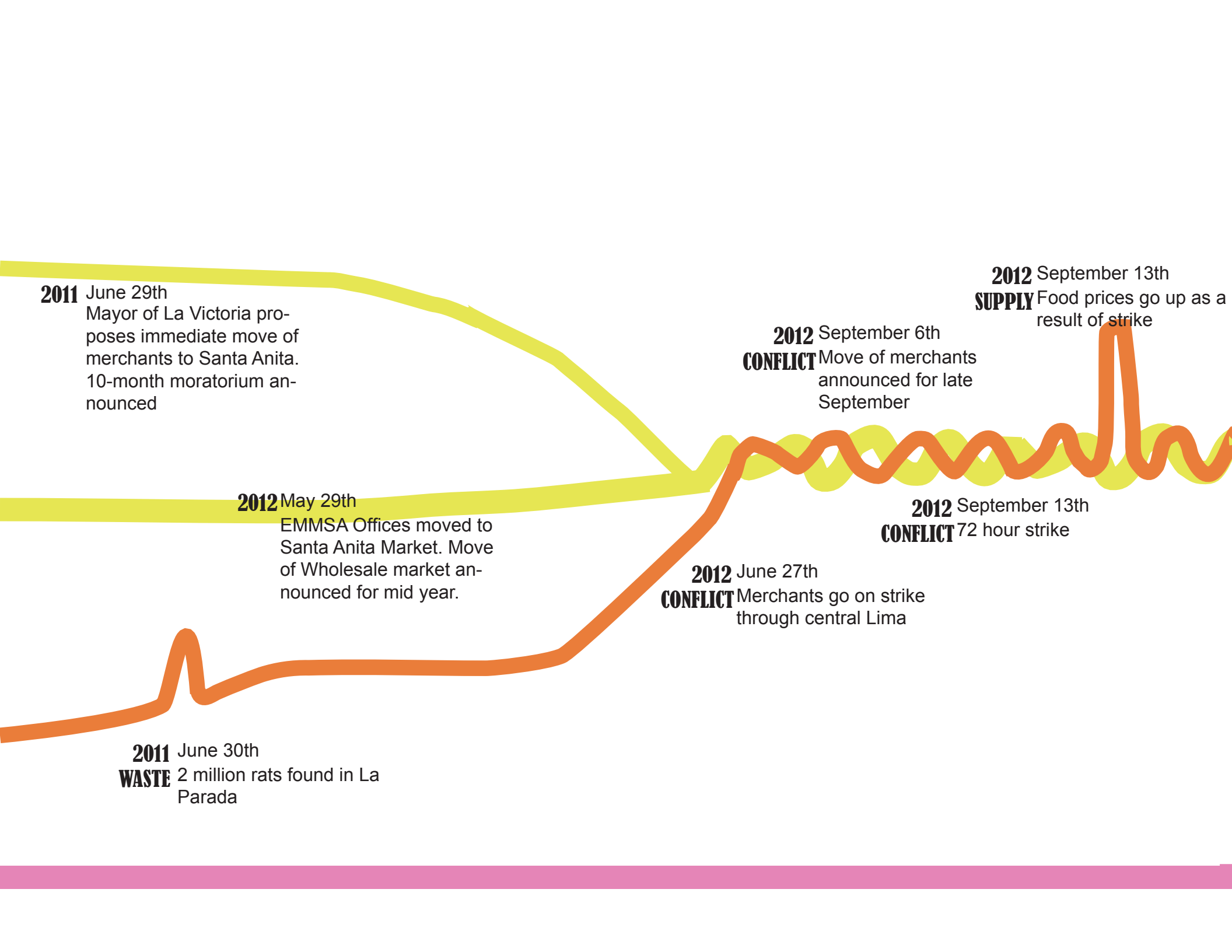
# The Food System



# La Parada - chronology of conflict







The image is a timeline visualization with two main lines: a yellow line at the top and an orange line at the bottom. The yellow line starts high on the left, dips slightly, then drops sharply to meet the orange line in the middle. The orange line starts low on the left, has a small peak, then rises steadily to meet the yellow line. After this junction, the orange line continues as a wavy line, with a very sharp peak towards the right end. Text labels are placed along these lines, with some labels including category words like 'WASTE', 'CONFLICT', and 'SUPPLY' in bold. The background is white, and there is a solid pink horizontal bar at the very bottom.

**2011** June 29th  
Mayor of La Victoria pro-  
poses immediate move of  
merchants to Santa Anita.  
10-month moratorium an-  
nounced

**2012** May 29th  
EMMSA Offices moved to  
Santa Anita Market. Move  
of Wholesale market an-  
nounced for mid year.

**2011** June 30th  
**WASTE** 2 million rats found in La  
Parada

**2012** June 27th  
**CONFLICT** Merchants go on strike  
through central Lima

**2012** September 6th  
**CONFLICT** Move of merchants  
announced for late  
September

**2012** September 13th  
**CONFLICT** 72 hour strike

**2012** September 13th  
**SUPPLY** Food prices go up as a  
result of strike



**2012** October 25th  
**CONFLICT** Police attempts to block access routes. Violent clashes between merchants and police. 2 dead. Fires lit. Looting in neighboring Gamarra. Metro station closed.

**2012** October 27th  
**CONFLICT**  
**SUPPLY** Second attempt by police forces to evict merchants is successful. Cargo is redirected to Santa Anita market. 1,000 police members guard area. Food prices go down as merchants get rid of stock.

**2012**  
**SILENCE** APEGA steer out of the conflict and do not pronounce themselves on it.



2. After the market's eviction, the empty stalls at La Parada revealed improvised graffiti left behind by the merchants. This one reads "Pablo Egoavil Leonardo one of the first wholesalers of La Parada. Daddy you will live for ever in our hearts. Your sons and daughters Gina Lucho Jesus Jhonny Martin Angelo Brenda and all my heart Willy Margarita"

# La Parada Market and the Peruvian Food System

**“Internal food marketing system faces high costs, scale problems, large losses and is severely lacking in infrastructure, thus making it very inefficient.”**

**Ministry of Agriculture**

## relationship key

-  controls
-  conflict
-  generates/sustains
-  member/subsidiary of

**85% of farmers own less than 10 hectares, representing a grave limitation to productive efficiency as well as rising transport costs**

**26% of economically active population employed in agriculture, rising to 65.5% in rural areas. This represents 8.6% of Peru's GDP**

## government organisations & regulators



national



municipal

INIA

intra-ministerial

## social & economic organisations

APEGA

Unions/non governmental



Transport companies



Local middlemen



Formal +  
Informal  
public trans-  
port



Large scale  
farmers



Producers



Distributors



Cooking  
schools

## human beings



Consumers



Cargo  
handlers



Cleaning  
personnel



Shamans



Prostitutes



Burglars +  
Pickpockets



Street peddlers  
+ food sellers



Security  
guards

## physical establishments/events



La Parada  
Wholesale  
Market



MISTURA  
International food festival



Retail markets



Restaurants



Bodegas/  
corner stores



Supermarkets

## waste products + consequences





Municipality of Lima  
*Susana Villaran*



Municipality of La Victoria  
*Alberto Sanchez-Aizcorbe*



Peruvian Congress  
Comission for the Protection  
of the Consumer  
*Congressman Julio Gago*

**EMMSA**

Municipal Market Co.  
*Ricardo Giesecke*

FRENTE UNICO DE INSTITUCIONES DEL  
MERCADO MAYORISTA NO.1  
*Spokeswoman Margarita Valladolid*

Wholesaler unions  
*ACUTUMM (potatoes)*  
*AMUDEGICAM (onions)*  
*ACOCAMM (onions)*

formal actors

stand renters  
stand owners



Cleaning  
personnel

informal actors

rental subletters



cargo handlers



Transport companies

Cargo handler  
unions

**SEEM**

Sindicato de Estibadores y  
Envasadores

**SICUTRAM**

Sindicato Central Unico de  
Transportistas Manuales

**SITRAMAN**

Sindicato de Transportistas Manuales



Local middlemen



Producers



La Parada Wholesale  
Market

La Parada retail market

Mercado de Frutas No. 2 Fruit Wholesale Market

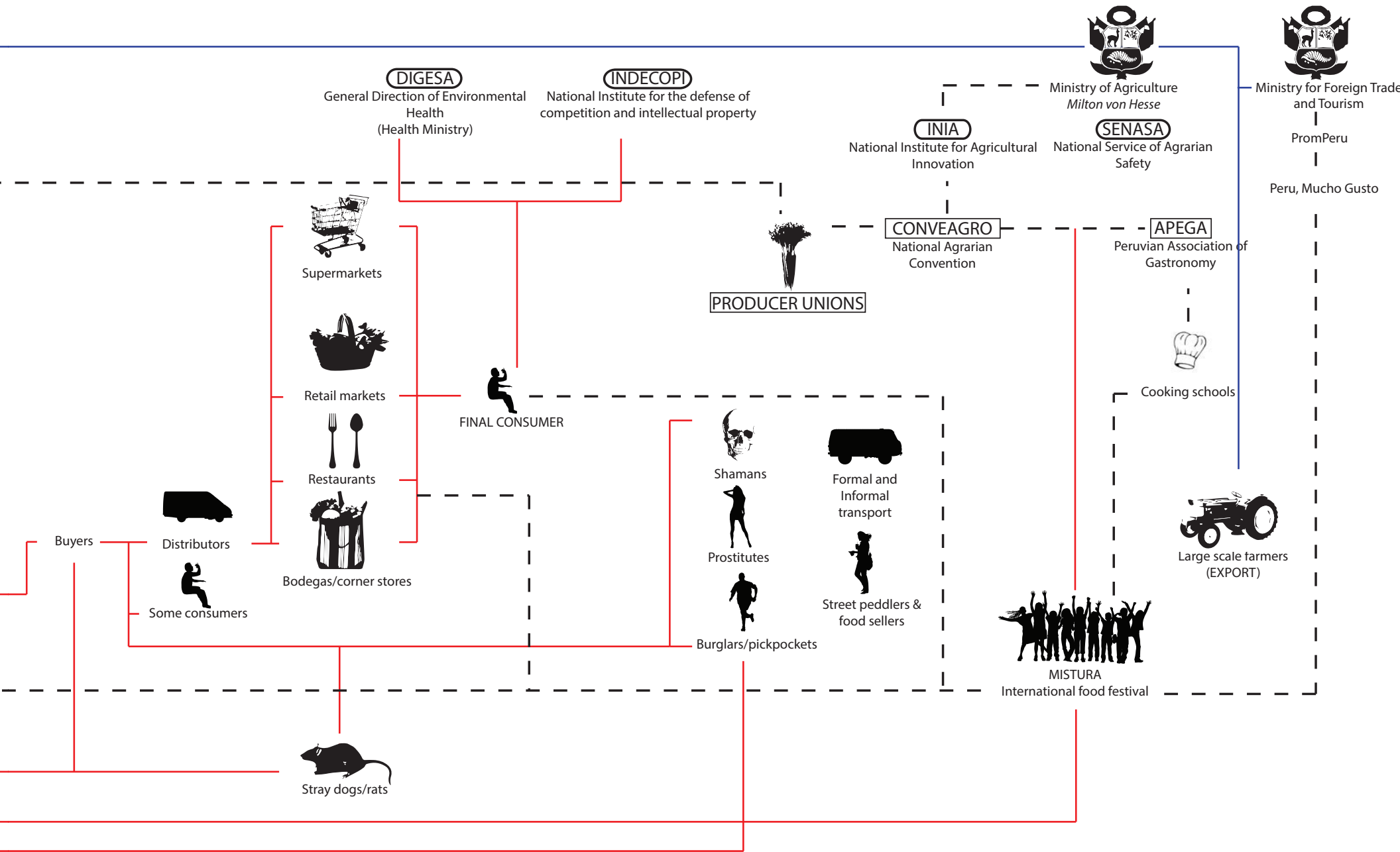
Santa Anita New Wholesale Market



Security guards

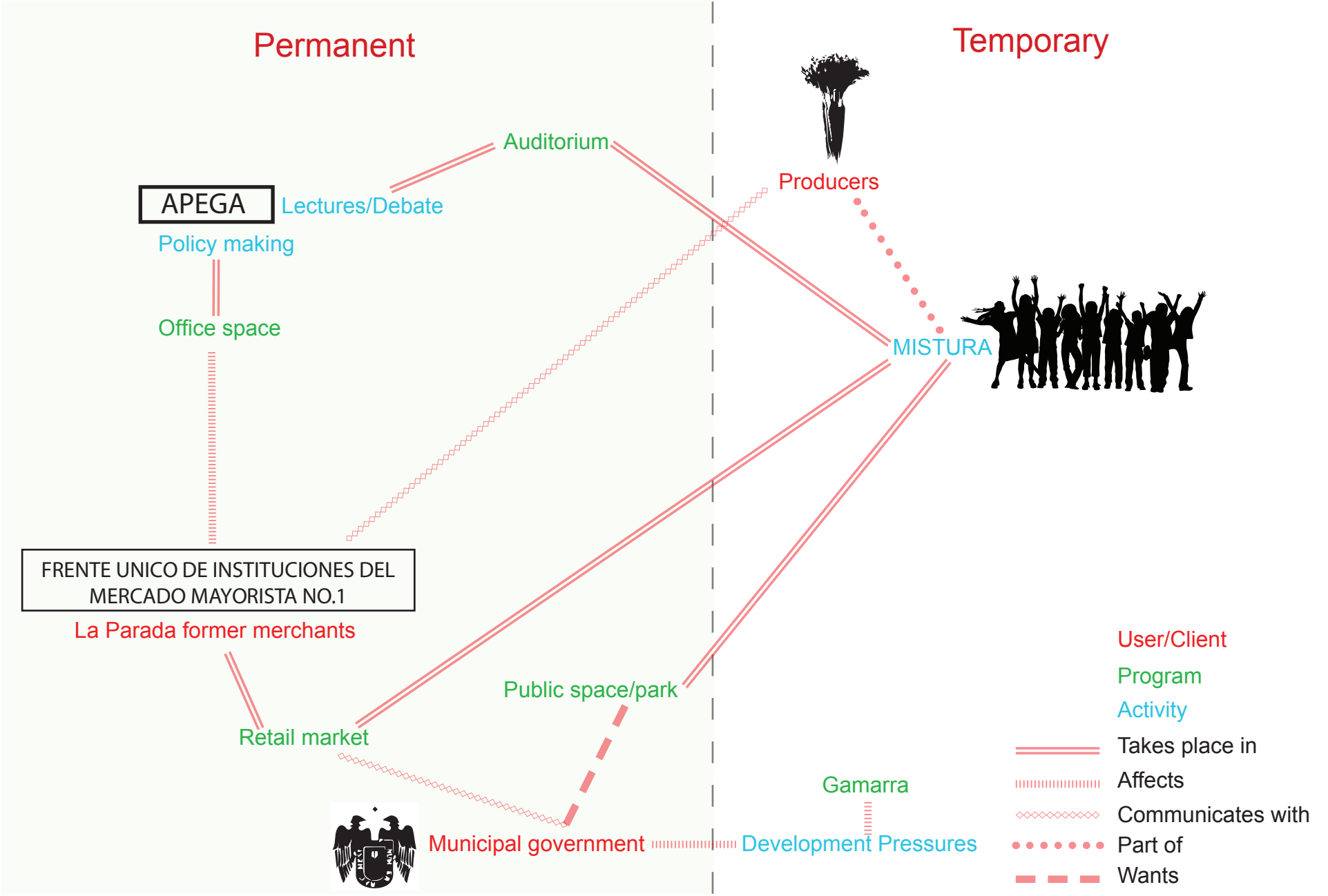


WASTE





Zooming in: components to involve



Clients, program and overlaps

APEGA

Office space

Workshops

Meeting rooms

Directory

Research

Mistura

Event space

Auditorium

FRENTE UNICO DE INSTITUCIONES DEL  
MERCADO MAYORISTA NO.1

La Parada former  
merchants  
Market hall

Loading docks

Food Storage

Restaurant

Parking

Waste disposal

Security

Quality control/safety

Childcare

Refrigeration

Commercial



Municipal government  
representing “the  
people”  
Public park

# Program

## currently at Santa Anita

LOADING DOCKS
MARKET HALLS
ACCESS CONTROL
ADMINISTRATION
PARKING
WASTE DISPOSAL
STORAGE
SECURITY

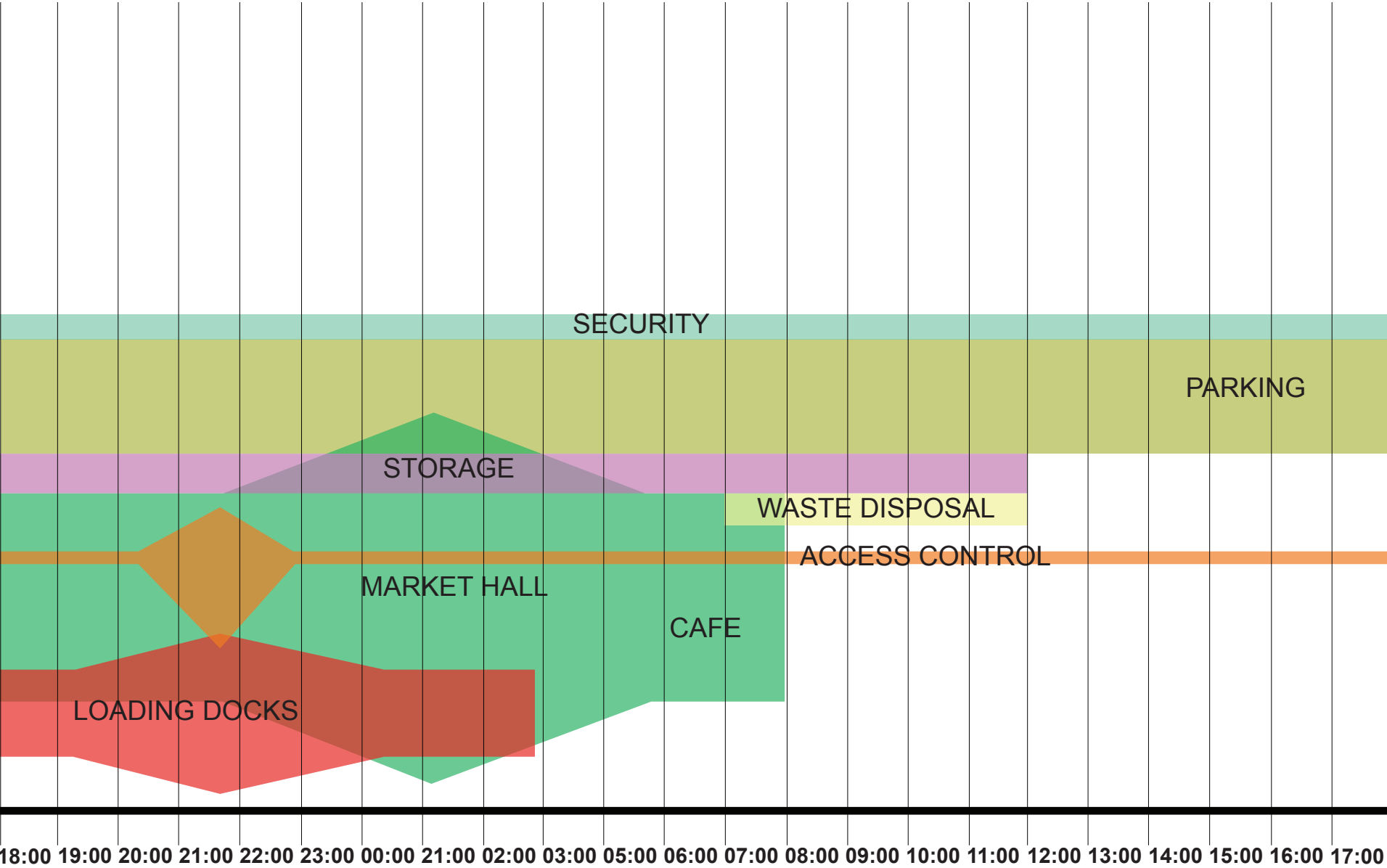
## planned

COMMERCIAL/BANKS
CLINIC
CAFE
DAYCARE

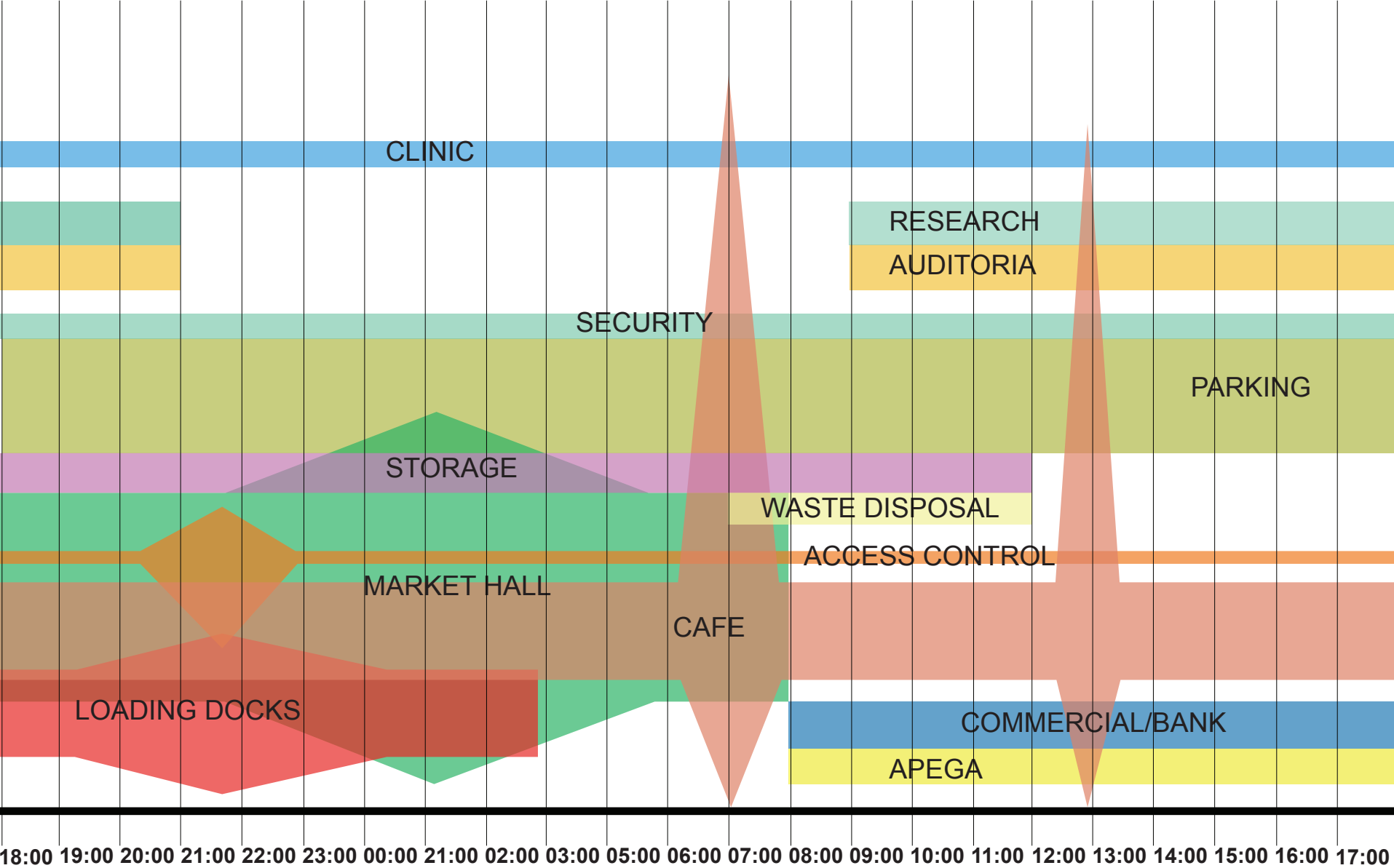
## proposed

APEGA OFFICES
RESEARCH
AUDITORIA
MISTURA
MEETING
WORKSHOPS

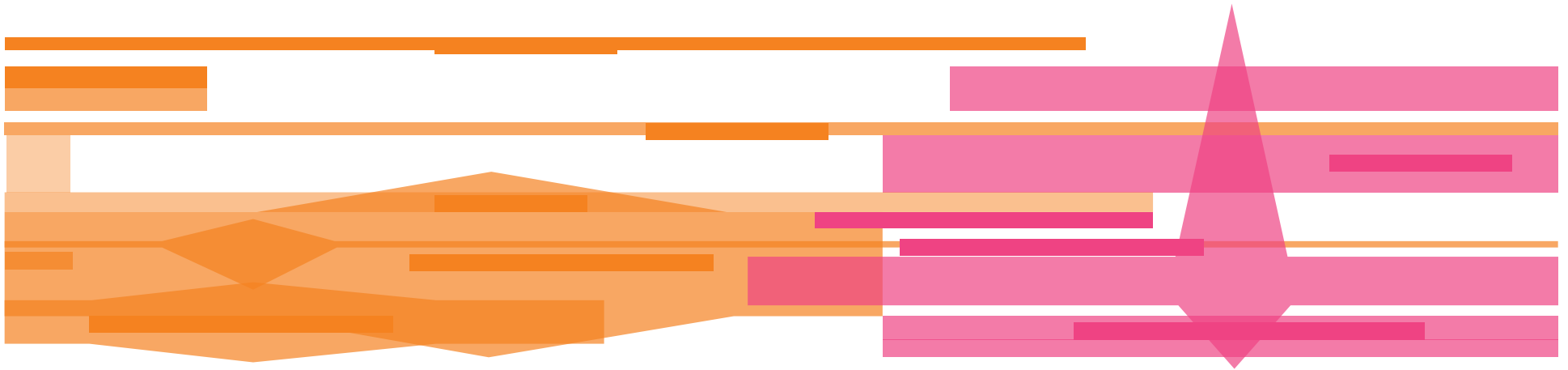
Current program use with times of operation



Proposed program with times of operation



## Dichotomy in program use: market hours vs. office hours



**How can there be:**

- 1. constant use of temporarily occupied space?**
- 2. relationships between different program-specific spaces with incompatible times of operation?**

One space in which people tend to converge in wholesale markets is the local café or restaurant. This seems obvious, as these places always tend to congregate people. However, cafés or canteens are important not only for customers or tourists that visit these markets, but for the merchants themselves. After a long night of work, merchants and workers tend to head to the canteen for a cup of coffee and breakfast, where they might mingle with customers or other workers with daytime office hours. Therefore, they act as hinge spaces where people with diverse timetables get together.



# La Parada: architectural characteristics

La Parada is made up by a series of rudimentary steel sheds arranged parallel to each other, intersected by aisles that allow for circulation to take place. The whole complex is bound by a concrete enclosure with entrance gates, outside of which informal commerce and transport gather.



3. La Parada (with the yellow perimeter walls) seen from above, with the retail market and the fish terminal on the right

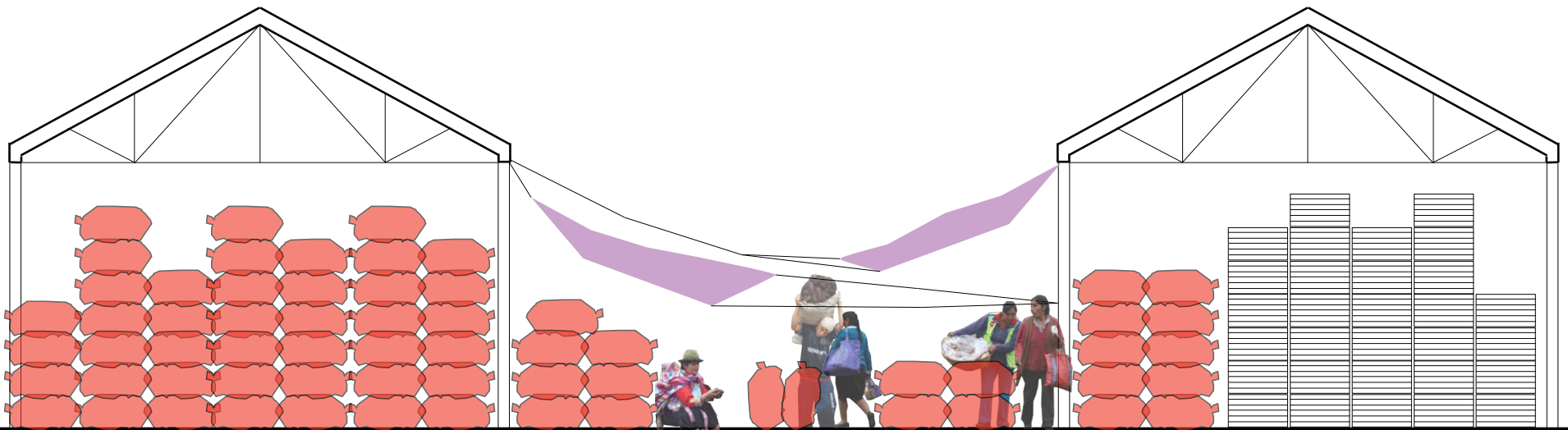


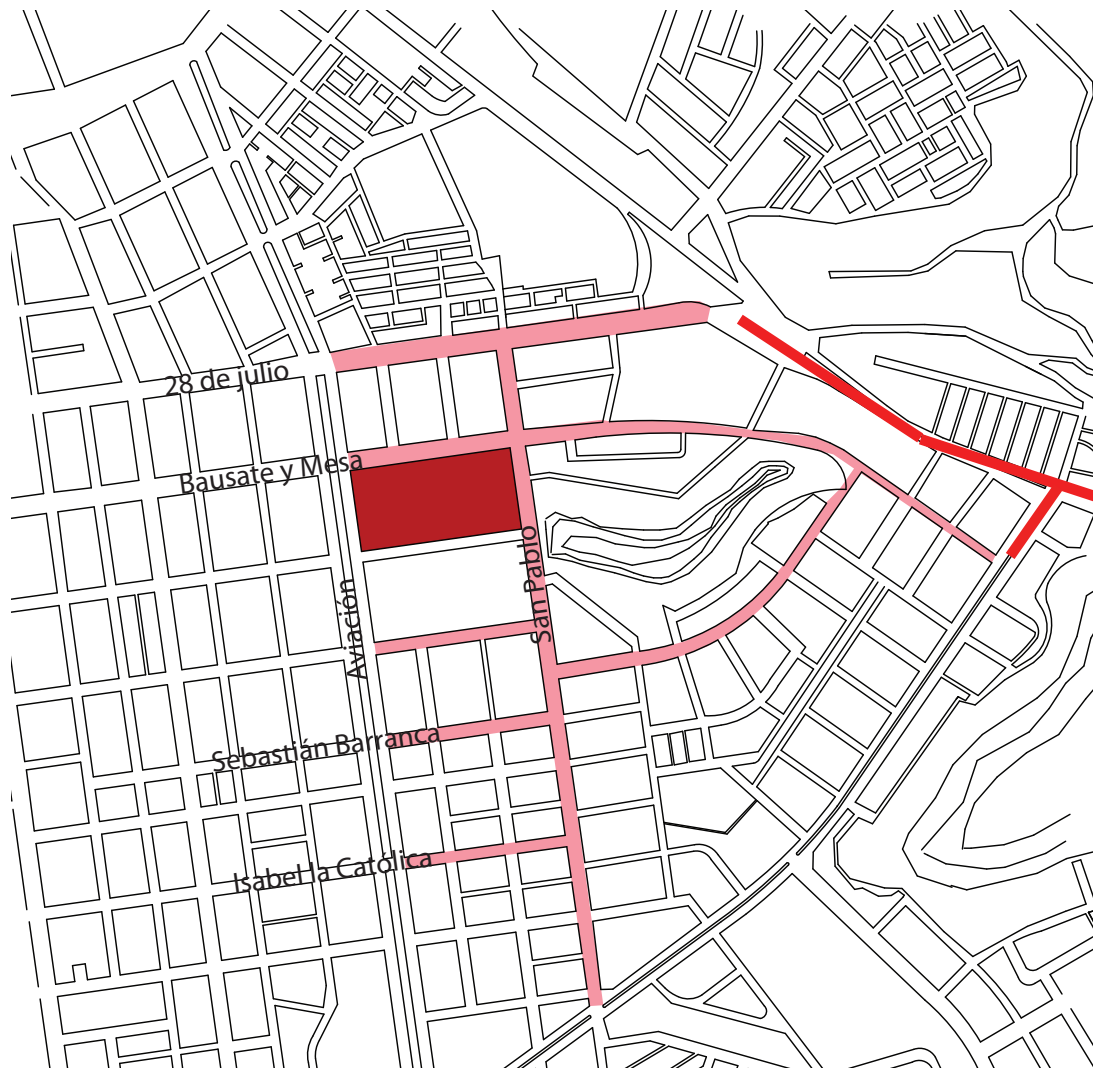


4.

5.

The sack and crate as space definers. Activity and circulation revolve around the transient location of produce. Food sellers set up shop in a place around which social interactions happen. Cargo handlers wind around the pavilions, moving around the sacks which resemble building blocks, temporary altering spatial conditions. **As the landscape is always changing, the activities that happen within it are always different, resulting in a rich set of social relationships.**





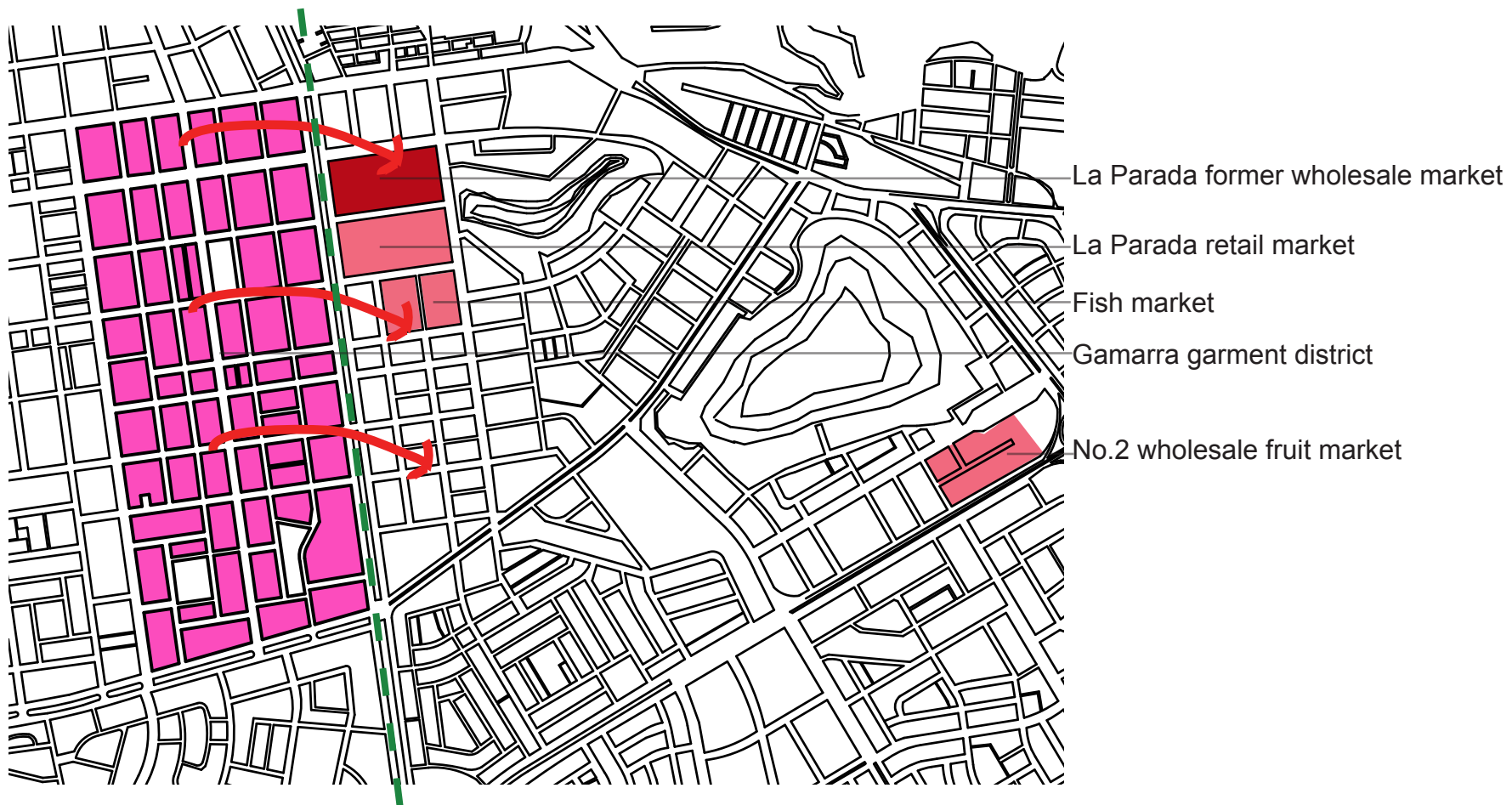
The roads blocked during the eviction of the market on October 27th reveal the main points of access for vegetable cargo from the peripheric ring road and the central highway.

Nicolás Ayllón Avenue runs towards the Central highway via the peripheric ring road (Via de Evitamiento)



6. Municipal forces and police placing concrete blocks at road intersections adjacent to La Parada Market, October 27th 2012.

## The neighborhood - Gamarra and the markets



### Development pressures

Gamarra (shown above in pink) is the garment district of Lima. It is organized around the street of the same name, Jirón Agustín Gamarra, but has extended around 3 or 4 blocks in every direction. Thousands of textile workers and merchants are located there, and it is a textile center of metropolitan and national importance, selling over 1.2 billion US\$ a year. 100,000 people visit each day, with the number increasing to half a million people in the Christmas season.

Once the eviction of La Parada was successfully carried out on October 27th, 2012, Gamarra merchants announced proposed plans to take over the area around La Parada, putting development pressures in evidence. The square meter on Gamarra Avenue is worth around 25,000 US\$, the most expensive real estate in the whole city. The Municipality of Lima somewhat agrees with these plans, but restated its commitment to providing public space



# Santa Anita

The new wholesale market at Santa Anita, recently inaugurated, includes 6 market halls with a capacity for around 700 merchants. Cargo handlers are no longer needed in the same quantities as they were at La Parada, since transport is set to be largely mechanized. Cargo handlers actually needed for the new market number around 250, and they are set to work directly with the merchants under the supervision of EMMSA, not independently as they did before.

The new market, although planned as an efficient point through which food can pass on its way through the food system, does not necessarily consider other factors that propiciate human interaction and social networks. Its programmatic components, although formal, clean and practical in comparison to La Parada, are scattered. Even though the market does provide a pedestrian entry and circulation, the emphasis is on vehicular circulation. Even though this is natural due to the project's nature, there is a negation of the human part of the market, such as what happened at Rungis in the early 1960s.

## ***Hours of operation:***

### **Supply**

Entry of merchants and market personnel	18:00-06:00
Entry of produce supply vehicles	18:00-00:00
Exit of produce supply vehicles	00:00-02:00

### **Shopping**

Entry of buyers	
Commercial transactions	00:00-07:00
Exit of buyers	

### **Cleaning**

General cleaning	07:00-11:00
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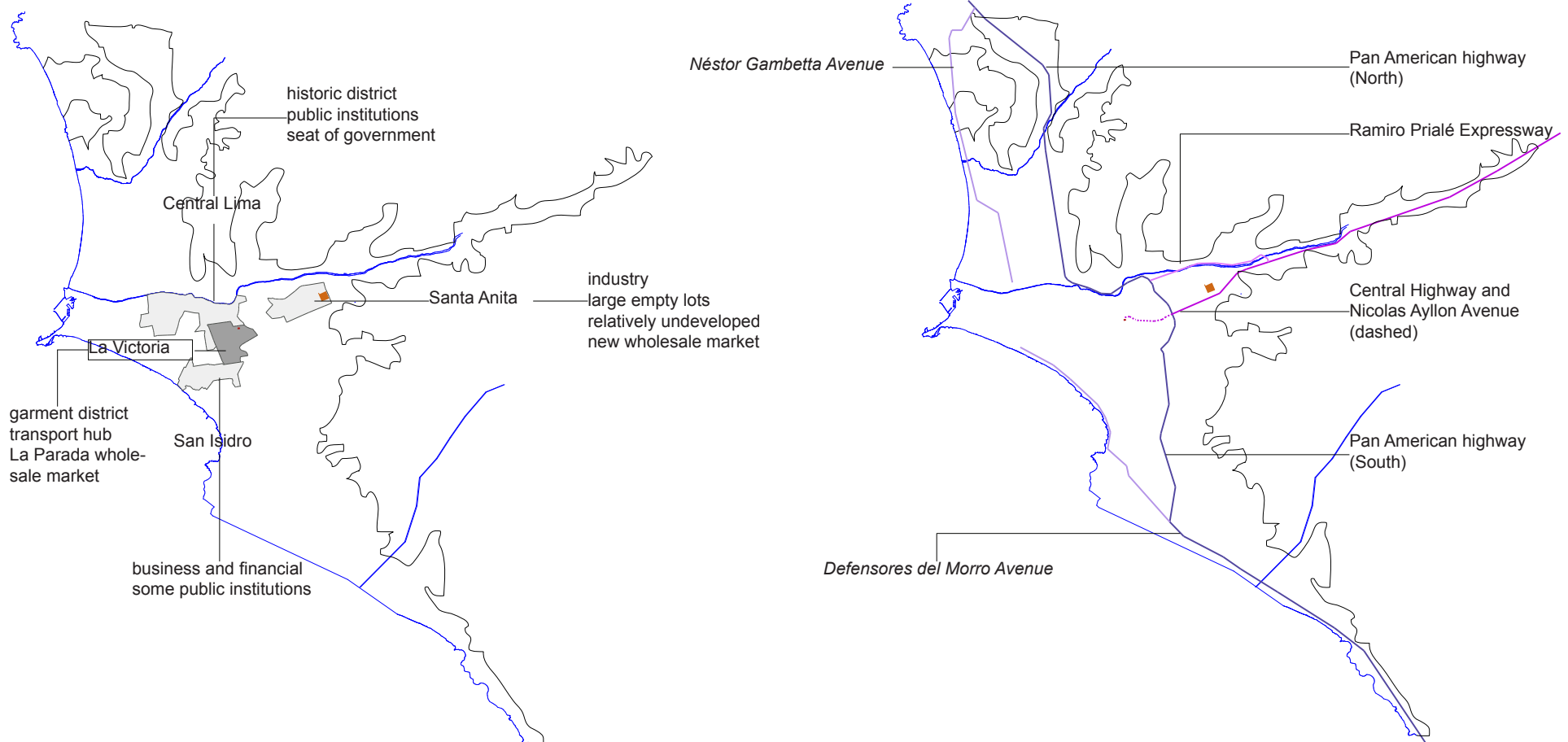


8. Interior of one of the market sheds at Santa Anita, on the first days of operation



9. Forklifts and mechanized cargo handling will replace most of the cargo handlers that used to work at La Parada.

# Logistics and Access



Lima is divided into 43 districts, each with its own mayor and certain administrative powers. La Parada market is located in the district of La Victoria (dark gray). La Victoria has traditionally harbored the garment district of Gamarra, which constitutes the most important commercial center in the country. A large amount of inter-provincial transport companies also have their terminals and offices there. La Victoria is adjacent to the Cercado de Lima, or Central Lima, where most public institutions are located. These include the Government Palace, the Palace of Justice and Congress, as well the Lima City Hall. To the south is San Isidro, the wealthiest district of the capital and host to most embassies, banks and the financial district, as well as some public institutions. Santa Annita market, on the other hand, is located in the district of the same name, incorporated as recently as 1989. The district is close to the foothills of the Andes, and a large proportion of its population is of Andean immigrant origin. A series of industrial companies have their factories along the central highway to the Andes.





10. The Central Highway in Ate district



11. Ramiro Prialé expressway

Access to the city is given mainly through the Pan American highway when coming from the North or the South. The highway makes a ring towards the East of the city, creating a semi-ringroad condition, referred to as the Via de Evitamiento. On this section of the ringroad, the two main access points from the East of the country make their entry into the city: the Central Highway and its newer (yet as of now incomplete) counterpart, the Ramiro Prialé Expressway. The latter, being a 6-lane separated road is slated to replace the often traffic-jammed Central Highway, now completely urbanized on both sides and intersected by numerous secondary roads. The Central Highway extends through to Nicolas Ayllón Avenue to reach La Parada Market. This is where most of the produce enters the city, which depends mostly on the Central Andes for its supply.

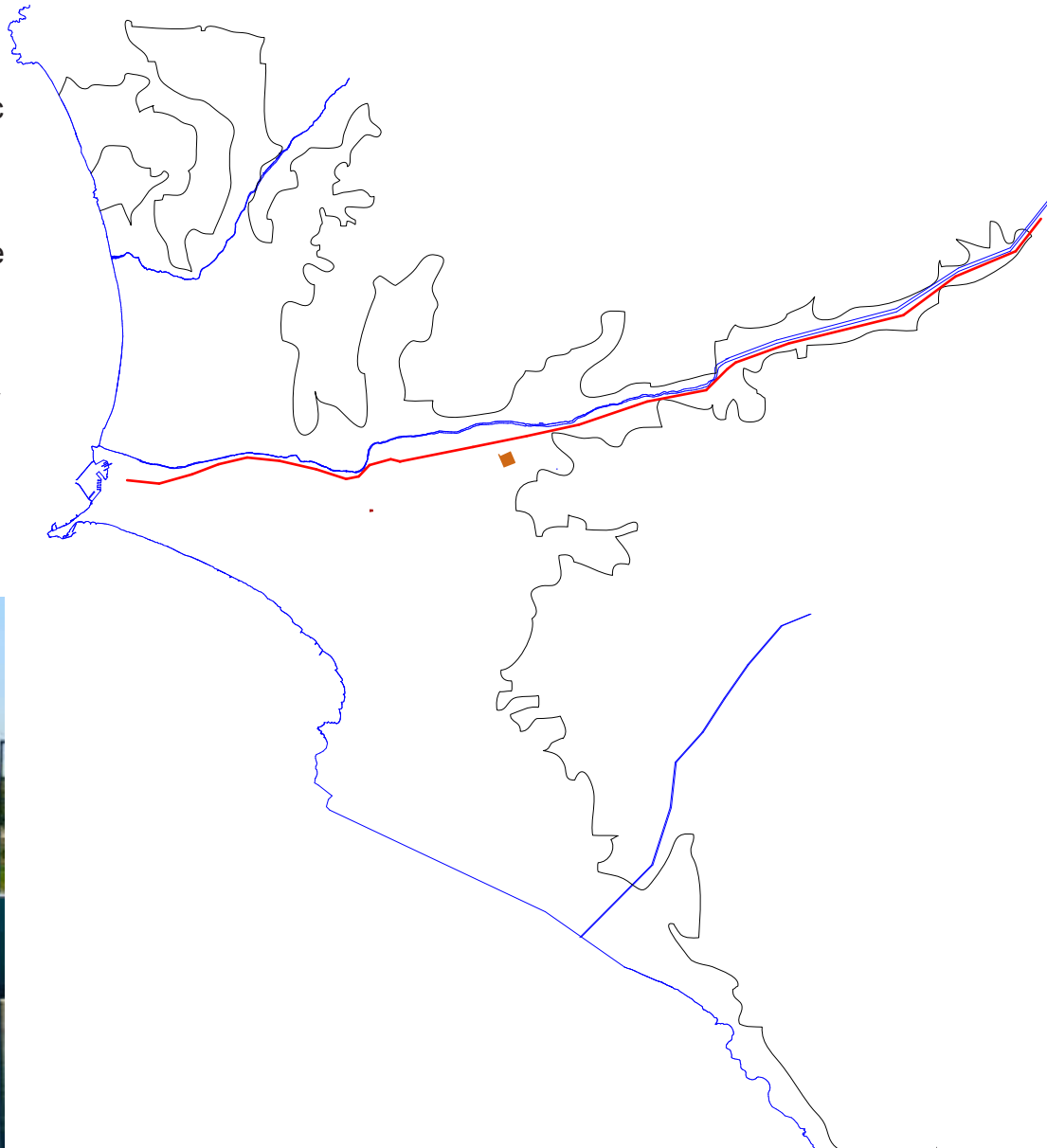
Other secondary access routes into the city are the Néstor Gambetta Avenue in the North, and the Defensores del Morro Avenue in the South. Both stem from different sections of the Pan American Highway, and are less used by cargo trucks.



# The Central Railway

Although primarily used for mineral cargo, the central railway could be used for the transport of produce from the central highlands to Lima and/or Callao. The rail operator offers 'touristic excursions' on the train on set dates, but passenger traffic is not scheduled constantly. If demand shows proves to be strong enough and improvements are made on the tracks (it currently takes 12 hours from Lima to Huancayo, for around 400 km of track), passenger traffic could be an important issue to consider.

The railway runs along the River Rímac, stopping at Desamparados and Monserrate Stations in central Lima, with its westward cargo terminus being at Callao port. The central highway runs parallel to the railway track for a section of the way, and they both pass nearby Santa Anita market.



12. A section of the Central Railway running along the Rimac in central Lima  
Plan showing the track of the railway with regards to La Parada (center) and Santa Anita (east)

# River, railway, highway

The site is affected by 3 “flows” that stem from the Andes to the East:

## ***The Rímac River***

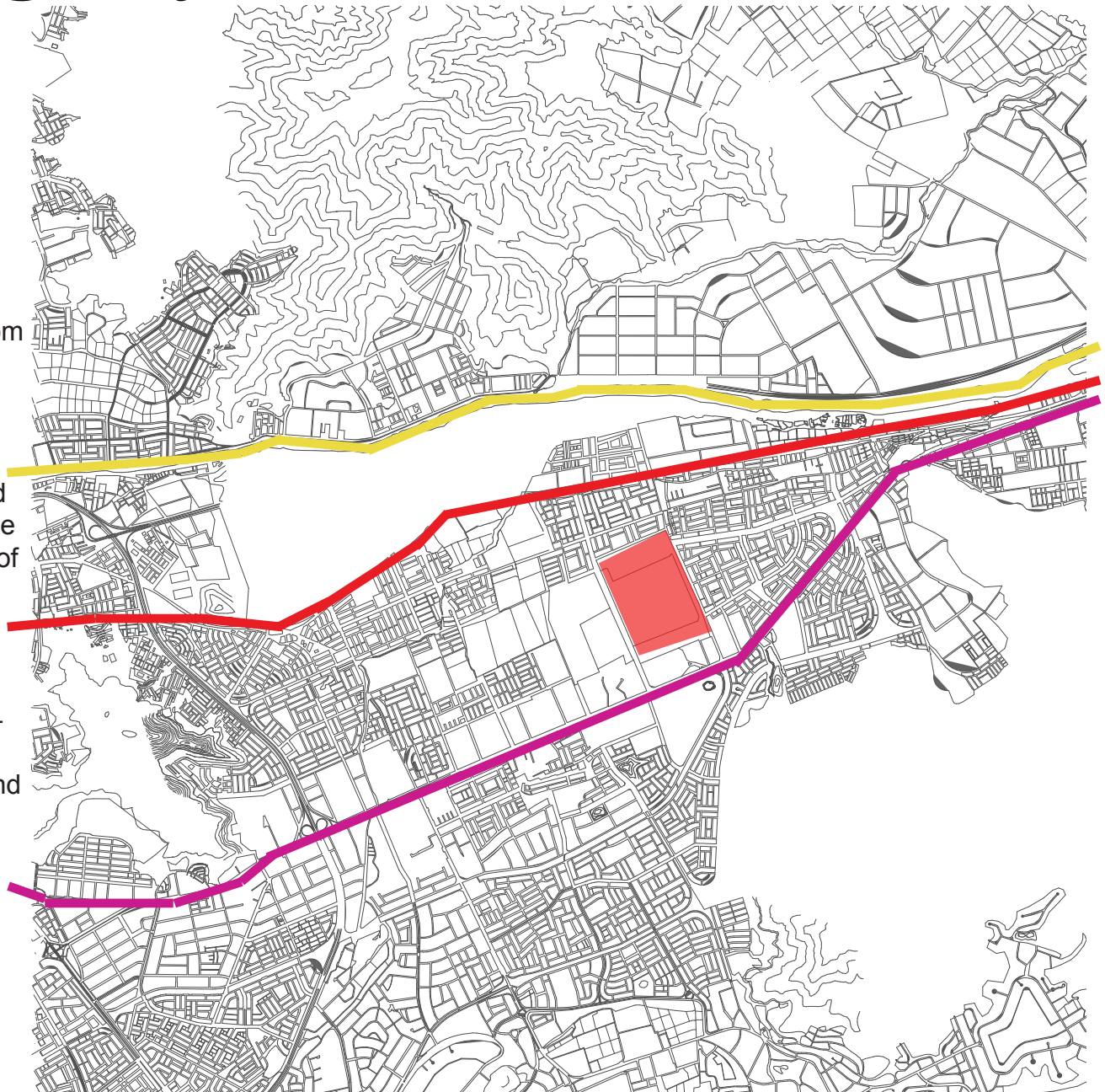
Even if it is non navigable it is a physical and symbolic connection between the city and the Andes, as it nurtures the valley where most of the city is located on.

## ***The Central Railway***

Although used mostly for mineral cargo, it could potentially become an important transport medium for produce. Its proximity to the site makes it feasible to extend an branch and provide the market with service.

## ***The Central Highway***

Currently very congested and in need of improvement. If the railway were to be used, truck traffic on this clogged road could be reduced.





Two views of the Carretera central in Santa Anita from a pedestrian overpass: fences on the side of the sidewalk form a barrier, turning the road into a huge gap that separates otherwise adjacent neighborhoods. Fences are meant for security, but people still walk over them to cross the street. Pedestrian overpasses are deemed 'safer' to cross the street by authorities, but is counterintuitive to the pedestrian. Moreover, they are usually preferred spots for pickpockets to operate on.



# Land use around the site

Large scale commercial  
developments (mall  
and big box stores)

Peruvian Institute of  
Nuclear Energy

Hermilio Valdizán men-  
tal hospital

The site

Retail market

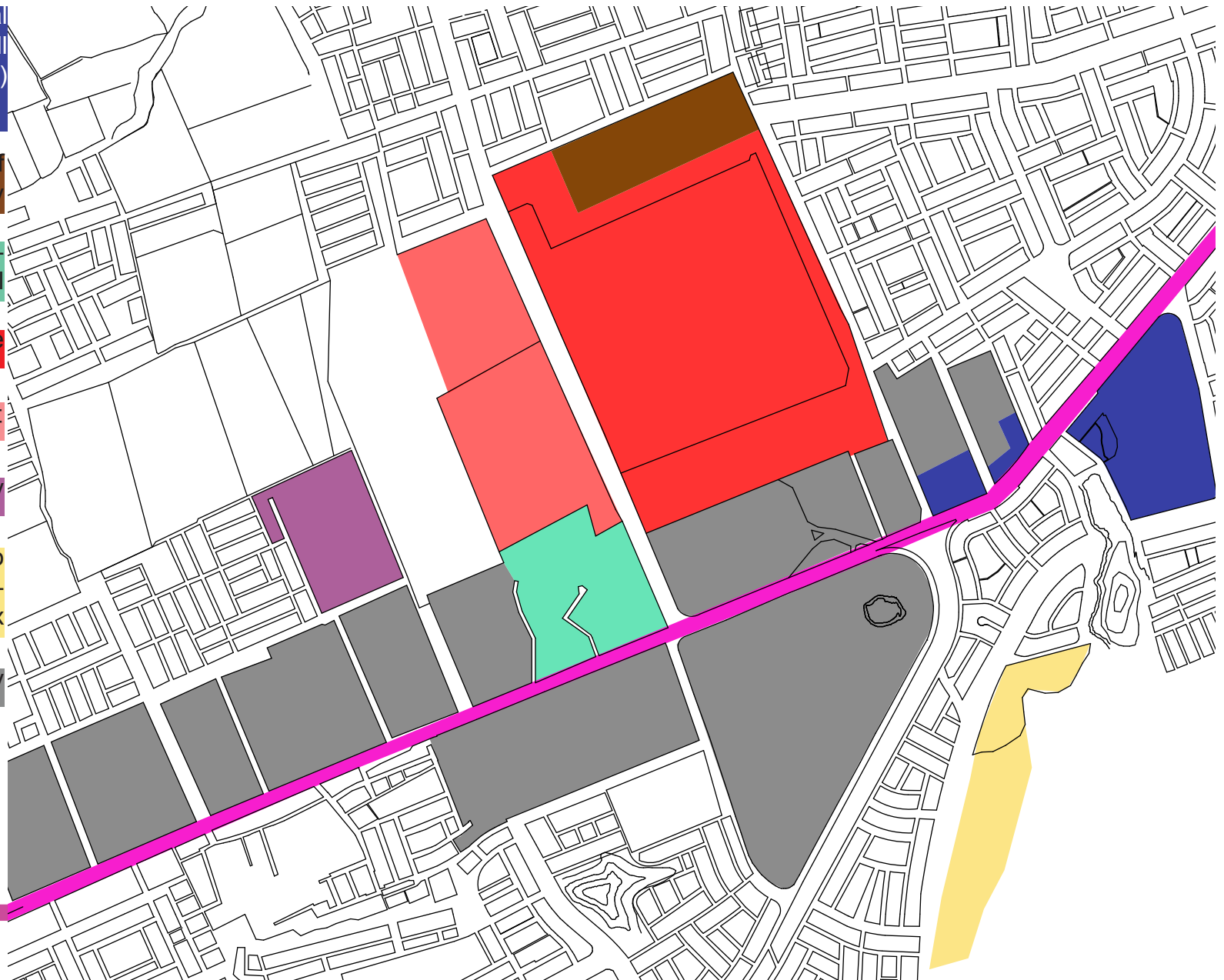
TECSUP University

Puruchuco  
Archaeological com-  
plex

Industry

Residential

Central highway





Built

6 'type A' market halls  
4 'type B' market halls  
Administration building



Projected

Additional market halls  
3 loading docks for sale from trucks  
Public private partnership for super-  
market supply  
Daycare  
Sports facilities  
Banks and commercial area  
Quality control  
Café  
Clinic

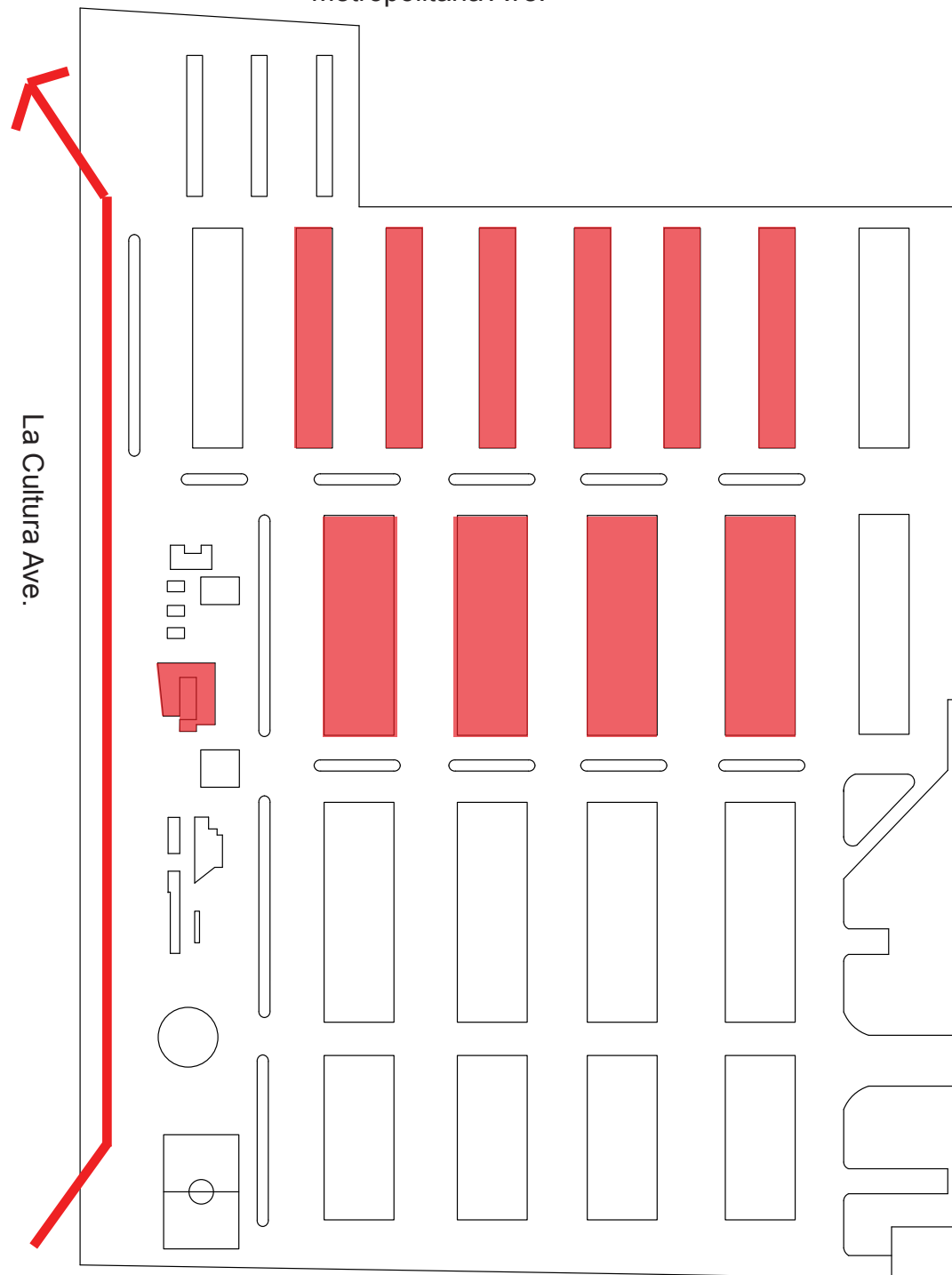
Missing:  
offices for the mer-  
chants?

Exit

La Cultura Ave.

Access

Metropolitana Ave.





# Sequence

There are different users of the wholesale market who follow different sequences throughout it, and use different programs. There are some overlaps in the different sequences and programs involved, but wholesale markets are mostly designed for these sequences to operate independently of each other. However, the users who perform these seemingly automated sequences also tend to vary them for breakfast or lunch, a cup of coffee, or social interaction.

These sequences and flows need certain dimensions that cannot be altered

For example, the space between two pavilions at Santa Anita is around 48m, allowing for truck parking and turning radii to be accommodated. This cannot be changed, and must be included into the project as an already established set of constraints that have to be worked around.

Within the market pavilions, a set space has to be devoted to circulation for people, forklifts and carts. Merchant space is more flexible but is still based on market stall standards.



15. A truck unloading at the new Santa Anita market

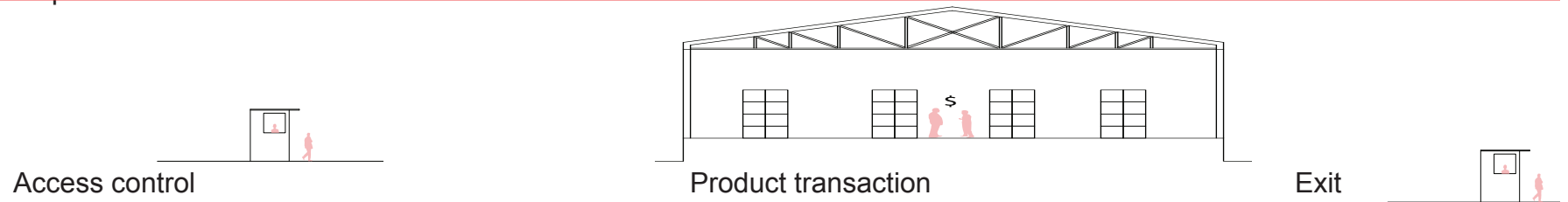
## Product delivery



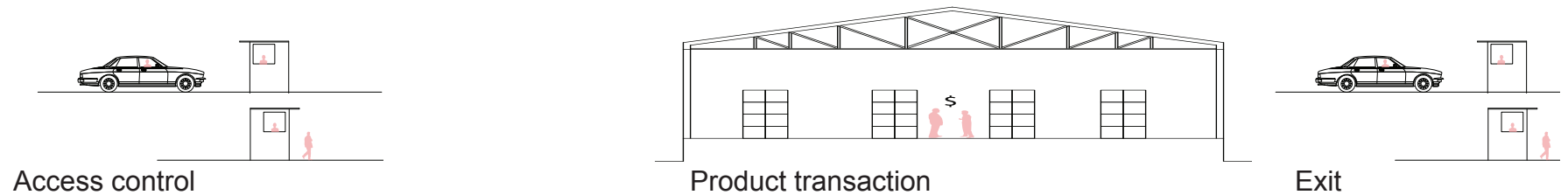
## Product removal



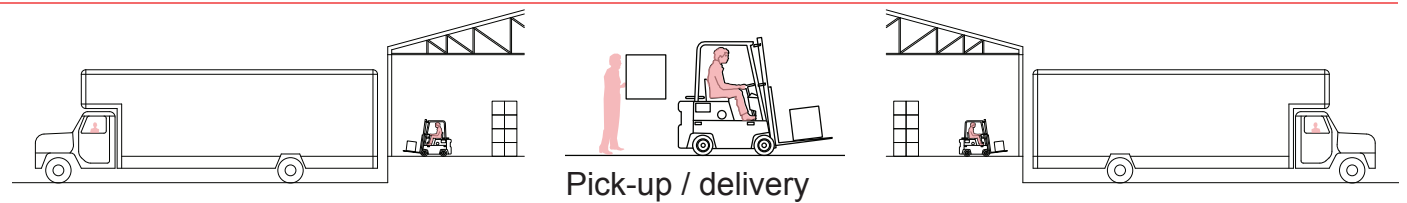
## Merchant sequence

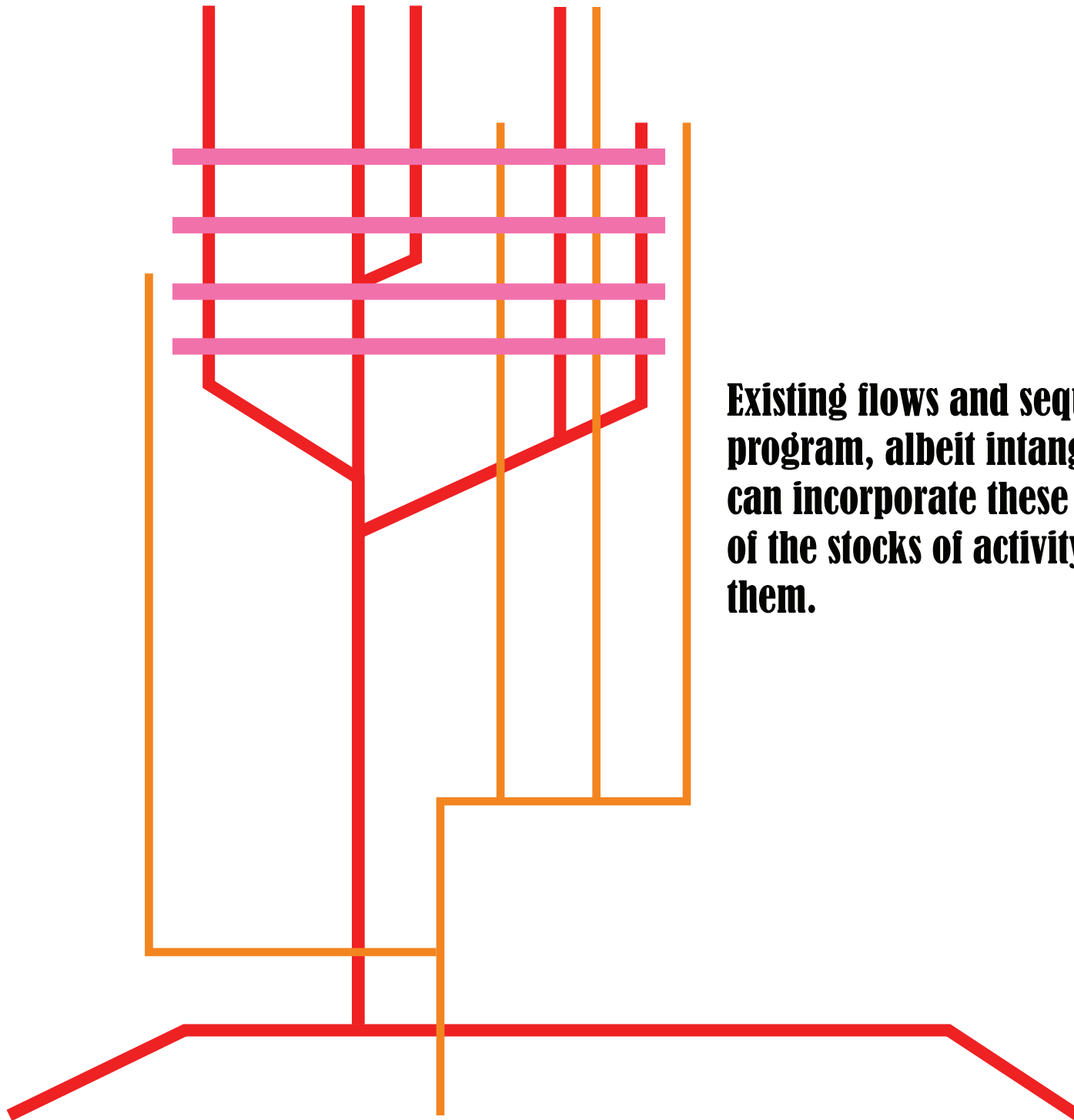


## Customer sequence



## Cargo handler sequence

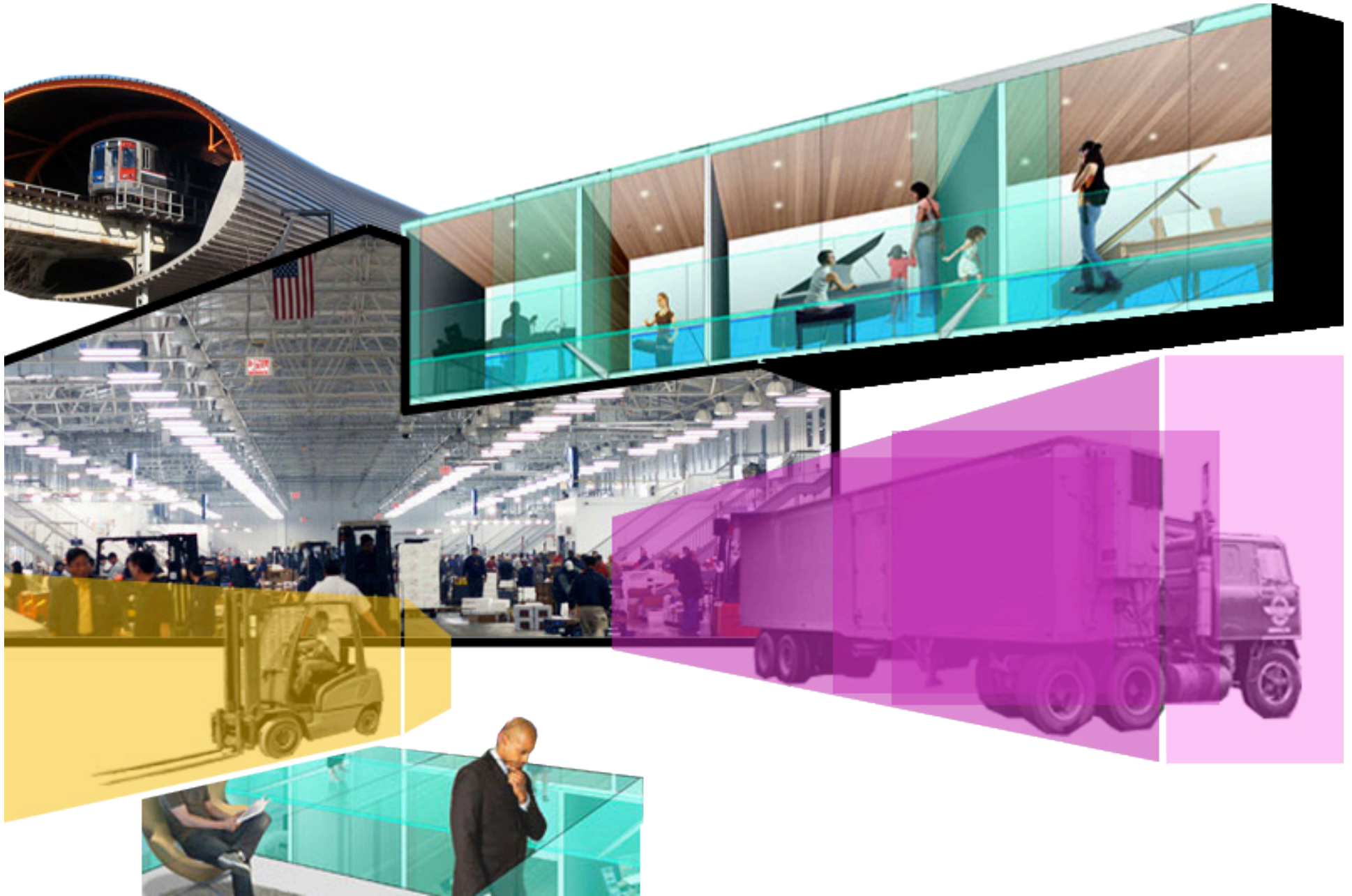




**Existing flows and sequences also constitute program, albeit intangible. Spatial interfaces can incorporate these flows and take advantage of the stocks of activity and people harnessed in them.**

**Sponge program that allows for circulation to occur between the tissue. The sponge surrounds the existing structures and penetrates them, creating visual and spatial relationships.**





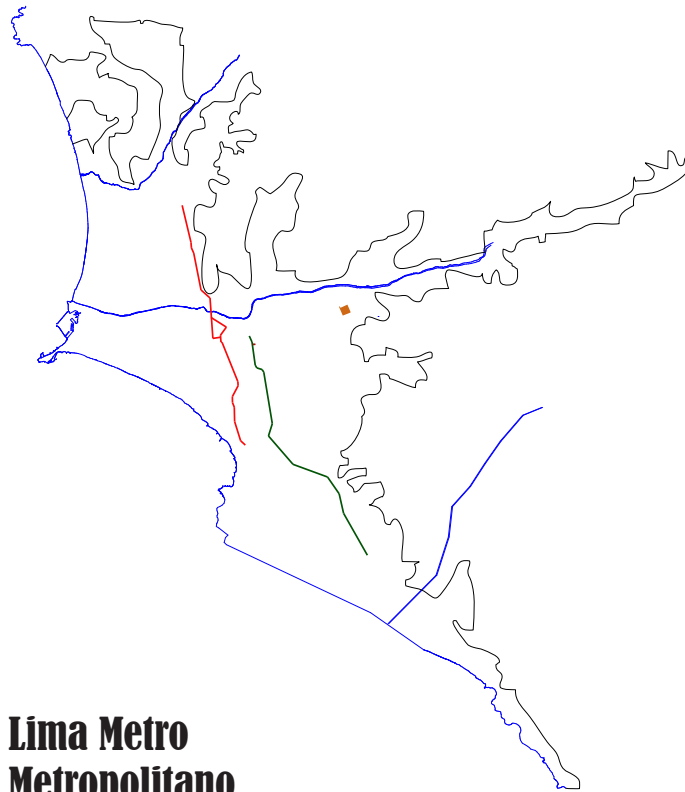


# Public Transport

Public transport in the city was privatized in the early 1990s. As a result, it is made up of hundreds of small companies that manage one route or two each. There is no official route map and the system is largely informal. Recently, the municipal government has succeeded in launching Lima's two first 'official' transport systems:

- The Metropolitano Segregated Bus Corridor runs on a separate track of road from North to South. It is currently under expansion.
- Line 1 of the Lima Metro runs on an elevated platform from Villa el Salvador to Avenida Grau, passing through La Victoria, with Gamarra station being next to La Parada and the Gamarra garment district. This station receives 70% of passenger traffic.

The other, semi-formal type of transport is composed by private fleets of 'combi' and 'coaster' buses, operated by private companies licensed by the municipal government. These do not necessarily adhere to safety measures, and do not have officially designated bus stops. Taxis are also mostly informal, with different varieties such as private taxis, 'colectivos' (taxis who carry more than one passenger to different destinations) and 'mototaxis' (rickshaw taxis) which operate mostly on a neighborhood level.



**Lima Metro  
Metropolitano**



**combi**



**coaster**



**mototaxi**



16.



17.

# Metro Network: proposed expansion

Line 2 (in red)

The government's commitment to the project for line 2 of the Lima metro train system was announced by president Ollanta Humala on Wednesday, February 15th 2012. It is planned to run from Ate district in the East to the port of Callao in the West, passing through the Market of Santa Anita and Central Lima on its way. Other metro lines are scheduled for construction successively after Line 2 is built.





## Lima Metro - Boundary condition



The conflict over the eviction of La Parada market exposed the elevated metro line as a boundary between the area of La Parada and its merchants and that of Gamarra on the other side. After the police forces' first failed eviction attempt on October 25th, criminals took advantage of the situation and looted stores in Gamarra. This was seen as a breach of an unofficial delimitation between the two neighborhoods, especially into the territory of the Gamarra Merchants Association, a powerful commercial union.



19.

20.

## How do people see and use public space in Lima?

Idea of public space is in conflict: the street is not perceived as common space, but as foreign space. People do not feel ownership over the street, and thus littering and other forms of pollution are common. There is a culture of survival, perhaps inherited from tougher times like the terrorist-ridden 1980s: the individual is first, and there is little or no custom of civic duty or civic respect. This varies by area, with wealthier districts (like San Isidro) officially enforcing civic values and poorer districts (like Santa Anita) focusing on what are seen as 'more urgent' priorities. There is also a tendency to distrust other fellow citizens, as crime rates remain stubbornly high. There is a pervasive cynicism towards the state and authorities, who are not generally trusted either.

Parks are seen as a square of green that is out of bounds, not only by the people but also by the authorities. Park design tends to include manicured gardens that have to be irrigated, an imported idea that does not do well with Lima's dry climate. Tracks in parks tend to be made of concrete and are at a different level than the green, grass-covered space, thus enforcing a silent "do not step on the grass" rule. An 'unconventional' use of public space (such as stepping on the grass in some cases, dancing or impromptu performances) might be sanctioned by authority figures such as policemen, further alienating the population.

Walking, even short distances, is not common, as it is not comfortable; sidewalks are rarely wider than 3ft (the bare minimum). The streets are traffic-ridden, crowded and polluted, with Lima being the "most polluted city in South America" according to a recent study. Walking is thus not encouraged. The city municipality continues to build highways geared for private automobiles, even if some progress has been made in public transportation schemes. Bicycle routes are making a stronger appearance, but respect and encouragement for cyclists is still in its infancy, as authorities and citizens alike fail to see it as a viable method of transportation.

Transplanted from America and distorted by the Latin American desire for progress and 'modernity', malls are rapidly proliferating through the capital city. They started out in the 1980s in the wealthier districts, but have in the past 5-10 years consistently started to develop in emerging districts, like Santa Anita. Malls are becoming a (cleaner and safer) substitute for public space, in a city where urban design is characteristically lacking and public spaces are badly kept. Malls have the cleaning services, amenities and security that public urban spaces do not.





21. Park in San Isidro district with paved sidewalks that alienate the user from the garden. The park is not seen as a space of nature or a space away from the city, but as a piece of manicured garden that showcases failed ideas of progress and fulfills the expectations of 'green areas'.



22. The unsuccessful and thoughtless renovation of the coastal 'promenade': narrow sidewalks and bicycle roads that are not up to code: built in the name of public space but with budget execution in mind.





23. Mega Plaza Norte Mall, Independencia District. Open-air plazas in malls provide a safe and controlled environment appealing to inhabitants of emerging areas of the city with increasing expectations (and disposable income) but surrounded by urban equipment and public space that is ill-designed or totally absent.

# Precedents



The electronic price display board at Rungis market, France



## **Rungis Market, 1953 - 1979**

### **Henri Colboc and Georges Philippe**

During the postwar period, the city of Paris underwent a similar process with its food system to what Lima is going through today. The market at Les Halles, traditionally in the same location since the 12th century, had become insalubrious and markedly inefficient, employing mostly what was seen as slow and costly manual labor. Political and development pressures also came into play, not unlike what is happening at La Parada. Many Parisians were against the move, claiming that Paris was becoming “postmodern” and that the elements that defined its essence, such as “the Louvre of the people”, as Les Halles was called by some, were being erased.

The new market at Rungis was planned as a modern and efficient food distribution center, connected to “all possible forms of circulation”, including its own railway terminal, as well as access to the Boulevard Périphérique beltway and Orly Airport. It is therefore primarily a place of transit, as one of Rungis’ planners, agricultural engineer Philippe Barre, explained:

**“These markets are stations for merchandise: in effect, they constitute the point of arrival and departure for these food products which are not really meant to stay in one place, but to be in transit in the best possible conditions: of speed, price and comfort”**

The market thus becomes a machine for the distribution of food, mechanized to the extreme: the need for human labor is “dematerialize[d] and disembod[ied]”. Ultimately, this strategy intended to dehumanize the market, and was not necessarily realistic.



## Learning from Les Halles

The architects of the market at Rungis were somewhat disappointed by the coldness and impersonality of it. Suburban terminal markets are invisible to consumers, and as such are “largely unadorned [...with] no traditionally imagistic architectural value save that of moving food”. Attempts to “shore up the market’s cultural life” were made, taking the market culture previously existent at Les Halles as precedent. This is particularly relevant to the case of Santa Anita, which could learn from the active local life previously characteristic of La Parada. Even if the grand plans for leisure and cultural activities were largely unfulfilled due to budgetary limitations, the intention reflects the importance of the cultural and social activities intrinsic to traditional markets, which gets mostly lost when maximum efficiency of food movement is built for in new terminal markets.

**“The human side of things, without which business would not be business, and which can’t be done by computer - has not been forgotten”**

**The architects, 1969**

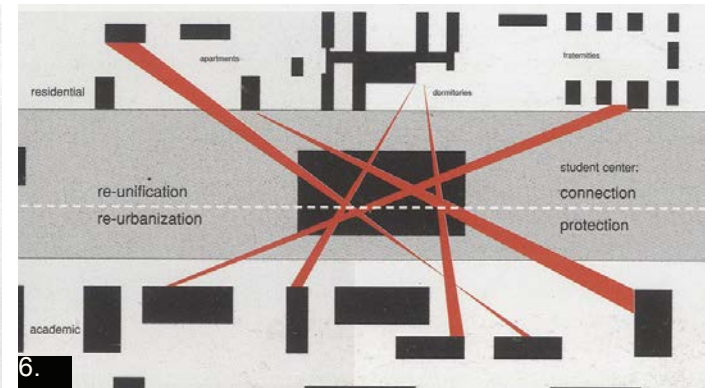
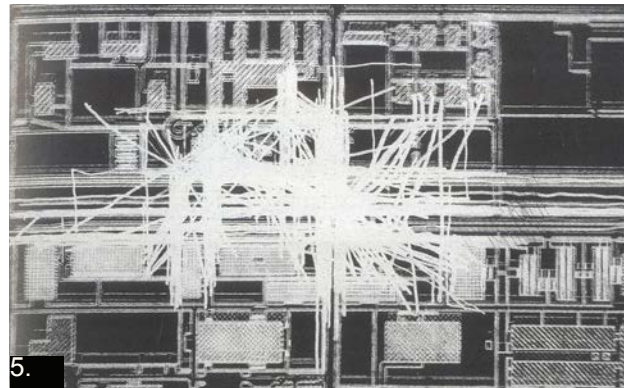
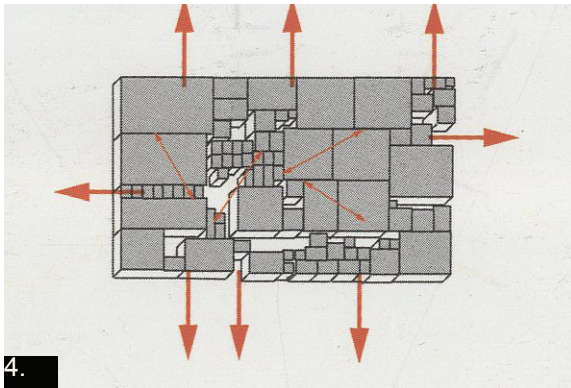




**McCormick Tribune Campus Center / IIT, 2003**  
**OMA/Rem Koolhaas**





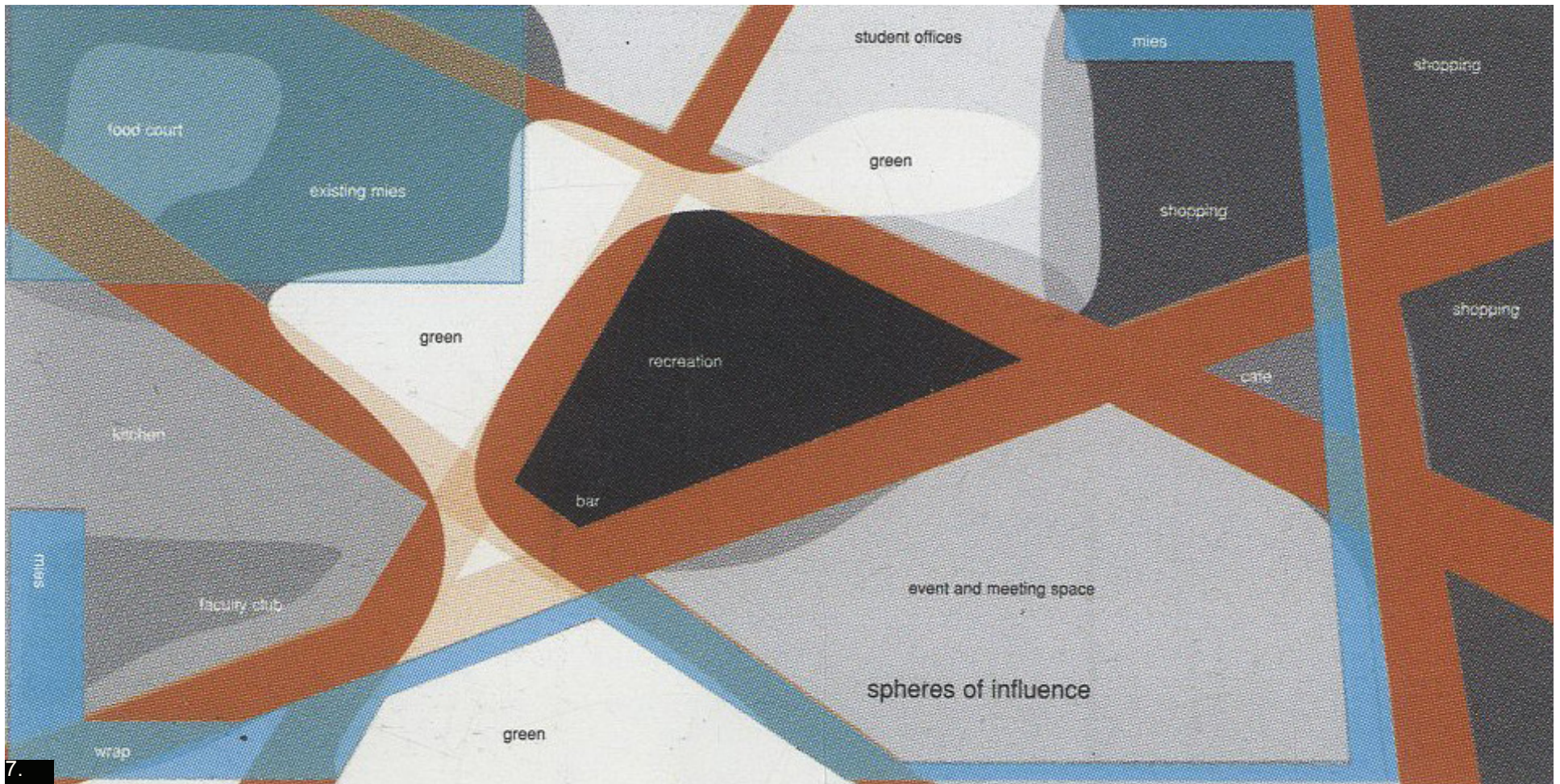


## Site strategy

The McCormick Campus Center occupies an area in the center of campus below the Elevated train line that bisects the university. In order to reunite the sections of the campus on either side of the train line, OMA proposes to activate this no man's land boundary area by concentrating different types of program and harnessing the energy of passersby between the two sections of campus.

**“By positioning each programmatic particle as part of a dense mosaic, our building contains the urban condition itself. To capture the sum of the student flows, the web of lines that already connect the eastern and western campus destinations are organized through the Campus Center, to differentiate the multiplicity of activities into streets, plazas and urban islands”**

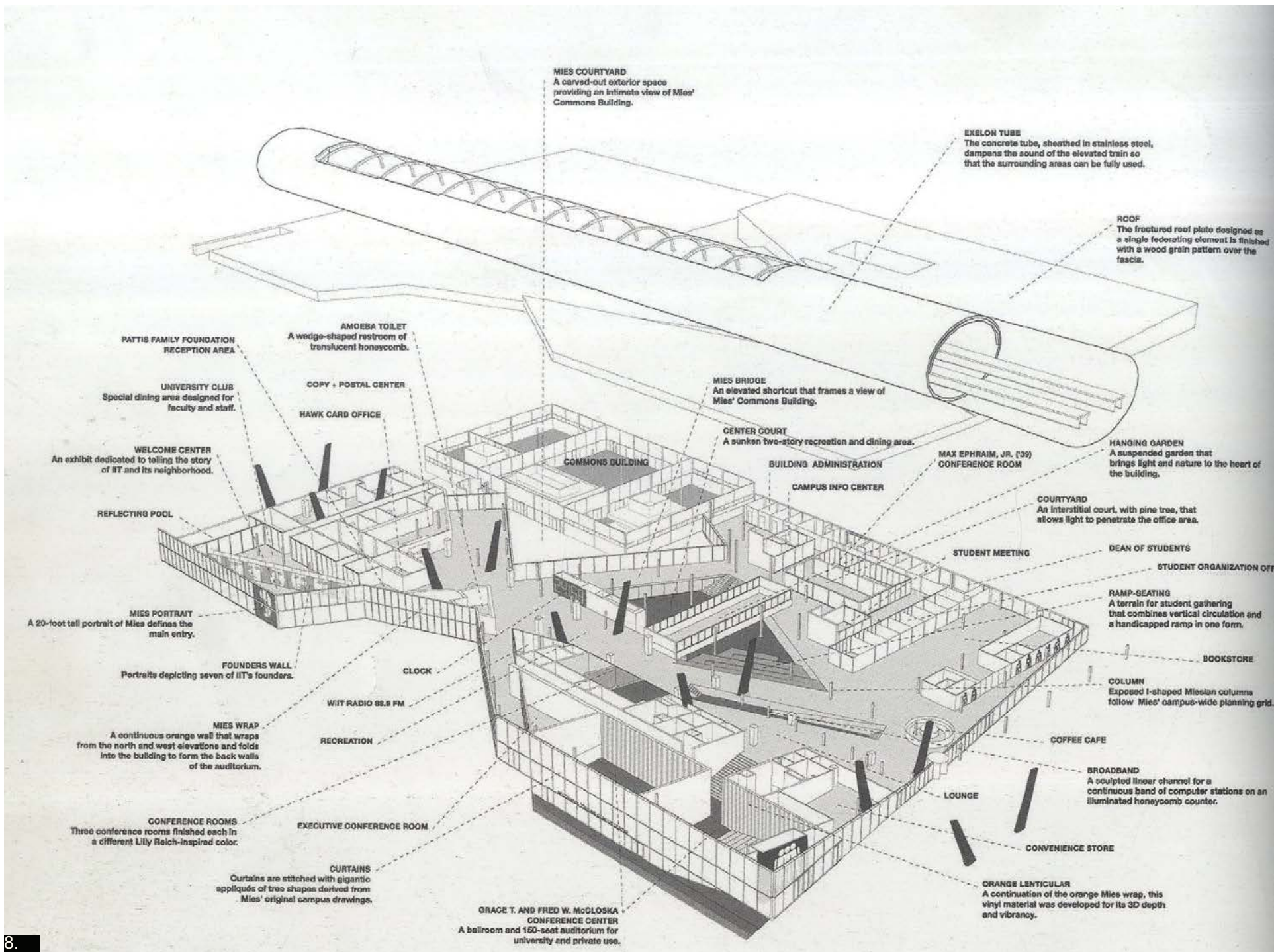




The OMA project attaches itself to and wraps around the existing Mies van der Rohe Commons Building, incorporating it into the Campus Center as one more programmatic island amongst the others. The different programs include green areas, shopping, dining, meeting rooms, conference areas and auditorium, computer stations and study areas, offices and service spaces.

**Circulation is allowed to go through the program.** The routes taken to traverse the site are maintained, program being organized around it so that it complements and enriches the experience of movement through the site. , and offers possibilities of social interaction, but does not interfere with the existing flows across the site.









9. Top left: study area
10. Top right: the "Broadband" a string of digital space
11. Bottom left: the "Broadband" in the foreground, with the lounge in the background on a different level.
12. Bottom right: café area



## Superimposing the IIT project on the site: maintain existing flows and circulations

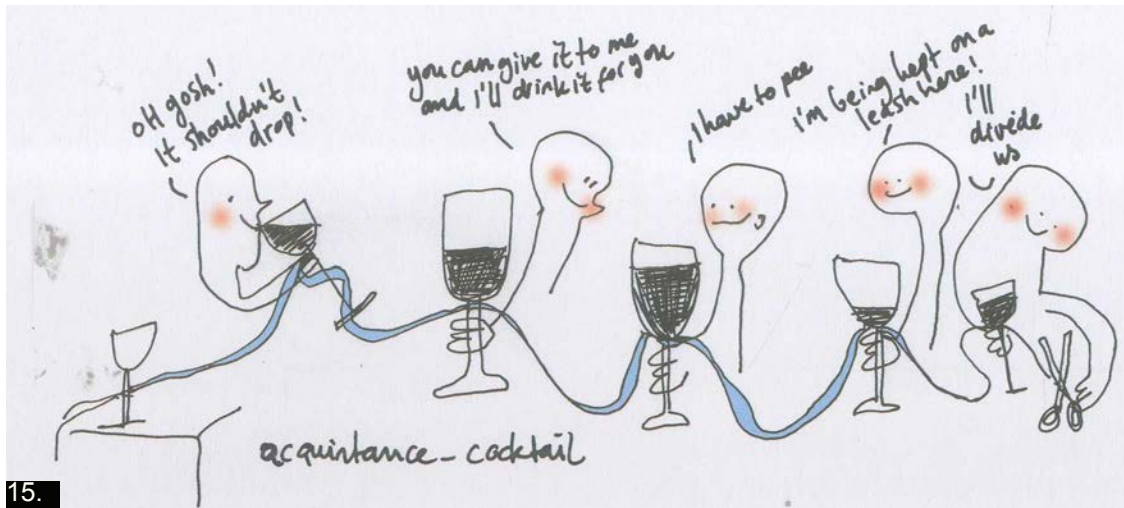
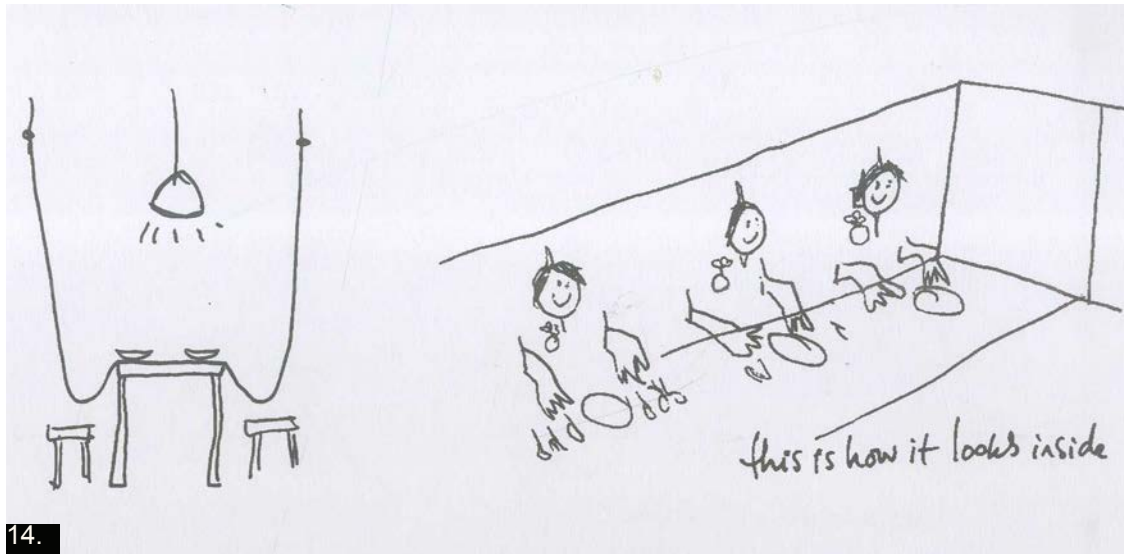




## Sharing Dinner Marije Vogelzang

The concept of Christmas gets abstracted to a more secular view point, sharing. Guests are united by a common tablecloth that wraps around them. Each guest gets one food component, be it a lettuce, all the meat or a bowl of soup. In order to eat a balanced dinner, the guests must share what they have and communicate with their up to now unknown neighbors to accomplish a full meal.







## Conflict Kitchen

Conflict Kitchen is a pop up restaurant that only serves food of the countries that the United States is in conflict with. Kubi-deh Kitchen, an iteration of this concept, is Iranian takeout, for example.

The aim of the project is to put American consumers with the culture, realities and issues faced by those countries, effectively causing them to question and investigate complex relationships.



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